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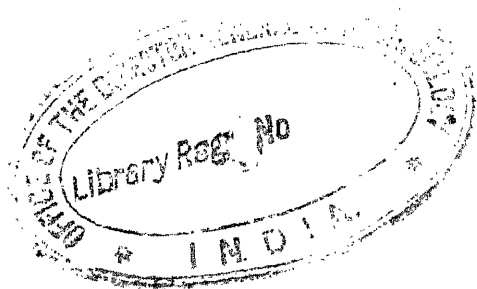
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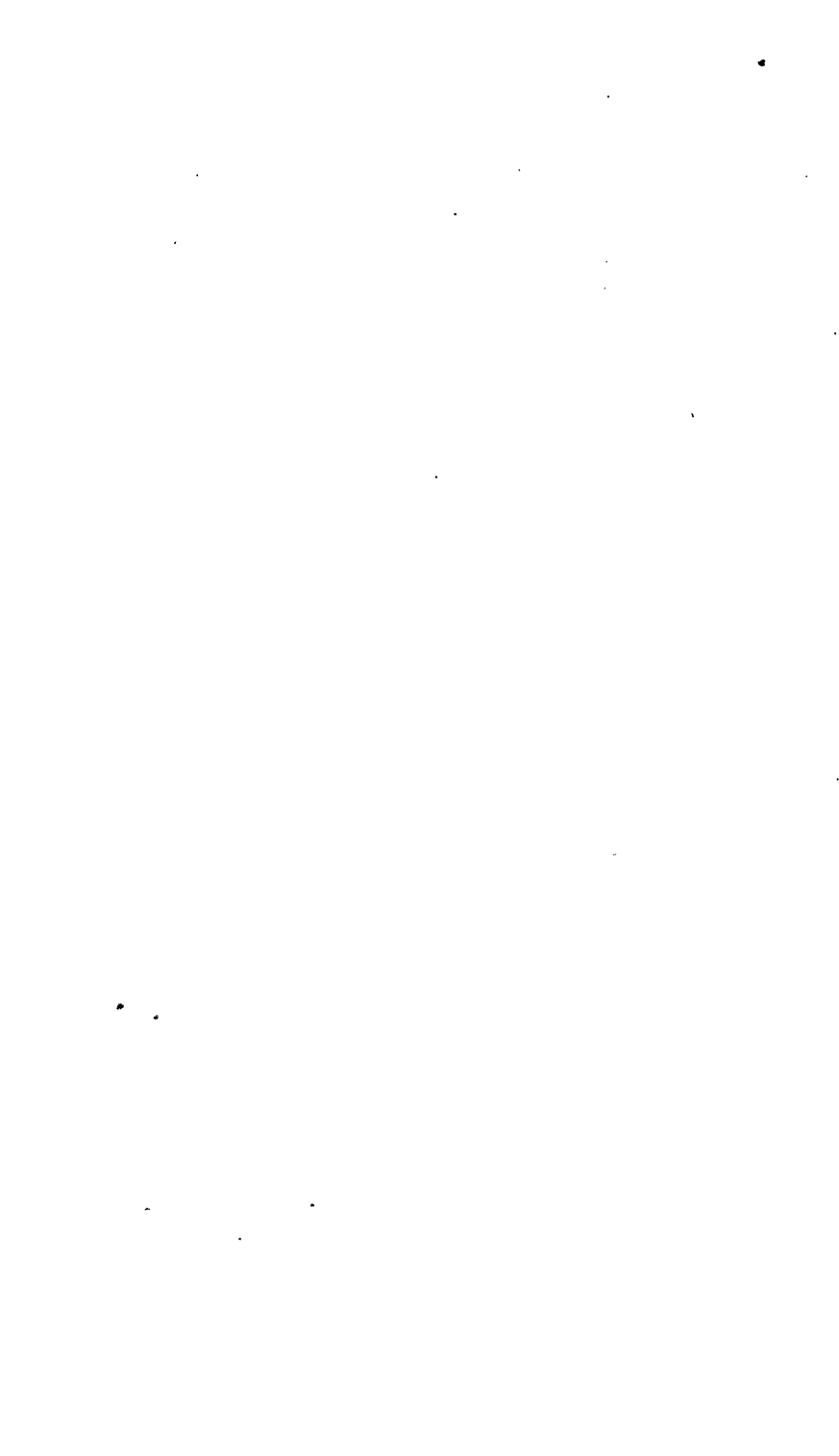
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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

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MEETING AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 20, GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
WESTMINSTER, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1875.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Dr. LEITNER, Principal of the Government College,  
Lahore.

*Native Self-government in Matters of Education.*

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the Society's Rooms, 20, Great George Street, Westminster, on Wednesday afternoon, Jan. 27, 1875, to consider the subject of "Native Self-government in Matters of Education," introduced by Dr. Leitner, Principal of the Government College, Lahore.

Mr. E. B. EASTWICK, C.B., Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Sir F. J. Goldsmid, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, General W. Richardson, W. Tayler, Esq.; W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.; Lepel Griffin, Esq.; R. H. Elliot, Esq.; James Bogie, Esq.; J. H. Stocqueler, Esq.; Rev. James Long; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; J. Ouchterlony, Esq.; Dadabhoy Byramjee, Esq.; N. Subramanyam, Esq., Dr. Austin, Dr. Duka, Professor Evans, Major Trevor, Mirza Peer Buksh, Captain W. C. Palmer, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, briefly explained that the object was to hear an address from Dr. Leitner on the subject of "Native Self-government in Matters of Education," and added that at this part of the proceedings he would not offer any remarks on what no doubt would prove to be a very interesting, as it was an important, subject.

Dr. LEITNER said that a few days ago, Mr. W. Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna—whose labours on behalf of truth would, he was

convinced, receive the recognition that has so long been withheld—sent him a paper on “Popular Education in India,” read before this most useful Association. This paper not only expressed many of his (the speaker’s) own convictions on the all-important subject of which it treats, but in the discussion which followed, it was also the means of eliciting a statement from Sir Donald McLeod, late Governor of the Punjaub, which bore directly on the subject of Native Self-government. The statements of this scholarly ruler—a worthy successor of Sir R. Montgomery, who first appointed Natives of the Punjaub to honorary magistracies—were so much to the point that he unhesitatingly sacrificed to them his own “introduction,” by which he would not only obtain for the subject a more patient hearing, but also have the opportunity of adding his own humble testimony to that kindest and best of Indian rulers, whose loss would never be replaced. Sir Donald McLeod said: “There is one remark which I would lose no opportunity of urging—viz., that to raise a people in the scale of nations, something more than mere education is necessary; and that this can only be obtained by what may be termed political education—that is, by allowing them a share in the management of their own municipal affairs. This I believe to be the one stimulus which, above all others, will give a nation the desire for improvement. The mere love of knowledge in the abstract is not, if we may judge from the experience of the past, sufficient to secure a general pursuit of it, unless its acquisition lead to some tangible reward; and no reward will prove so acceptable, or so operative as regards the nation at large, as the assurance that each individual will be allowed a position of influence in the local councils, in proportion as he shows himself qualified to exercise it. As a nation becomes conscious of this result, in that ratio it will become an intelligent, vigorous, and high-minded nation, and a desire for knowledge will rapidly spring up. I have been greatly struck by remarks made in Russia, in the public press, to the effect that since the serfs have been emancipated, there has been progressively evinced an intense desire for the attainment of knowledge as they have been entrusted with some share in public affairs, and their wish has been to make themselves fit for the execution of the duties. With us in India, the great idea of the students in our schools and colleges is to obtain stipendiary employment under Government. But this is not sufficient for a nation. It must have a much larger share in all the administrative details of social life before it can become imbued with self-respect and a spirit of progress; and this every nation should possess. It has been remarked that even in England the system of education is very defective, and there is no

"doubt truth in this; yet England has attained to a foremost place in the scale of nations, and I for one feel convinced that this is largely owing to the republican spirit of its institutions, which gives to a large portion of the community a voice in the administration of the affairs of the body politic, and thus induces, on the part of all those who are well disposed, a desire to show themselves worthy of consideration. The more we can do in India towards securing a similar result, the more I believe we shall promote the cause of education." Sir Donald McLeod, upon the same occasion, went on to remark that much had been done of late years by the creation of municipal committees, the establishment of honorary magistrates, and other similar measures, to familiarize the people with self-government; and although their functions were for the most part of an honorary character, such posts were highly appreciated. Sir Donald McLeod concluded his remarks by expressing a hope that more would be done in the same direction in the future, as by that means a great stimulus to progress would be afforded to the people. These, then (proceeded Dr. Leitner), were the opinions of a man whose sincerity in the cause of Native progress, whose judgment and truthful convictions on all matters affecting India could not be doubted for a moment; he had considered that educational self-government could not be separated from the general question of Native self-government in other matters, and under the *ægis* of his greater authority he (the speaker) proposed to shelter the remarks he intended to make. He proposed, therefore, first, to consider the capacities generally of Natives for self-government; and, secondly, to treat somewhat more exhaustively of the expediency of this form of administration in Indian educational matters. Looking, then, at the matter of Native self-government generally, in the first place, it would be admitted by most Englishmen in England, who were not connected with the government of India, that, in proportion as the people of a country were allowed a share in the administration of their own affairs, so would the government be placed on a sound basis. In India, however, where the responsibility of government presses very heavily on officials, the principle of Native self-government would meet with considerable difficulty; and as he might, in the course of his remarks, have occasion to be severe in regard to some officials, he would preface them by saying that no one more than himself had a higher conviction of the honourable and high-minded feeling that characterized Indian officials, speaking generally. But the difficulties of their position, and the want of pliability in the system under which they worked, placed them out of sympathy with the Natives of the country. The second point—self-government in matters of education—would not be so readily admitted in England as in India, for, according to the ordinary



Englishman, it is in educational matters, at all events, that we have everything to teach the Natives. In India it was not so, for there the deficiencies of our system of education were painfully evident in every branch of the public service, excepting, perhaps, the Educational Department. Education in India was at the present time too much a departmental matter and too little a national matter, and he was convinced that most officials in India were in favour of allowing Natives a larger share in the management of their own education, though they hesitated to admit them to self-government in all other matters, which an English audience in England would far more readily concede than educational self-government. The wisdom of this concession he would endeavour to illustrate by his own experience in enlisting Native co-operation in the various Eastern countries in which he had lived from 1847 to 1872.

#### I.—NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT GENERALLY.

He found that the Natives of India had every capacity for self-government, as was shown by the vitality of the village communities which were preserved to the present day; and this was an institution emphatically republican in its nature. In dealing with the Natives of India enough care had not been taken to utilize and constitute into a basis of good government their adherence to custom and tradition, as evinced in the religious veneration paid to those in authority, to the aged, to parents, and to priests. Instead of utilizing this fondness for tradition, a system of government had been adopted which, although suited to England, with English love of literal truth, and strong public spirit, was ill fitted to impress the Natives of India, whose minds were still acted upon by the sayings of their sages. Every one in India who wished to see British rule on a permanent basis, must desire the concession of fellow-citizenship to the Natives. The difficulty is only as to when it can be done. He thought safety lay in doing it at once. Most consider that the measure is premature. This is because they do not know the Natives as he did. Lest he be misunderstood, he would at once say that in the ordinary course of their work the officials must and do consult Natives, but their inquiries do not take a sufficiently wide range. Very often they drift into consulting one favourite, who would not be a human being unless he took advantage of the opportunity which such a relation to a ruler of his country gives him. Often, again, the fact that the inquiries are not made systematically, and are not based on a preliminary knowledge, leads to those extraordinary revelations with which officials startle us from time to time. An officer will, in the fulness of his revelations, propose this or that panacea; another, coming fresh from Europe, or strongly

tinged with extreme political views, sees that he has some chance of carrying them out in a wide field like India—as long as they do not affect his interests—and is on the look-out for facts to meet his theory. It would be, indeed, strange if in a country of 300,000,000 inhabitants all sorts of facts did not arise to suit almost any view of a question. Now, what he wished to substitute for all this was a government based on knowledge, instead of crotchets and spasmodic revelations. Send out men, not boys, to rule India—men who have seen something of public life in England. It is absurd to suppose that the Indian climate affects the European constitution more at twenty-five than at nineteen to twenty-one. Dr. Mouat has conclusively proved the contrary. Abolish the distinction between Covenanted and Uncovenanted Service, but have merely a Civil Service, to whose examination you may admit all graduates and all barristers of three years' standing; insist on their possession of such accomplishments as riding, swimming, shooting, fencing, &c., and keep the competitive examination for the Oriental languages and law. Throw all appointments open, half to Natives, to be competed for in India, and half to Europeans in England (Native candidates to pass an additional test in English literature and history). There are officials who would now object to serving under Natives, but this precisely proves their unfitness to be public servants, and shows the deplorable alienation between them and our Indian fellow-subjects. Certainly, whatever be our own political leanings, we must do the Conservative Ministry the justice to admit that when in power their concern for India, now and some years ago, is and was dictated by that high-minded and comprehensive sense of duty which has distinguished so many of the statesmen of that party in foreign and colonial matters. To Sir Stafford Northcote it is due that the Educational Department was, for a time, treated with the consideration due to the most useful ally, and was not regarded as a step-child, of the Indian Government. To the Conservatives, and especially to Lord Cranborne, we owe the inspiration of the circular, which so immediately bears on the subject now under consideration, asking, with the view to future guidance, what were the "relative advantages of British and Native rule."

A MEMBER: It was Lord Lawrence, not a Conservative. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. LEITNER said he thought the speaker was in error; the circular certainly reached India in Lord Lawrence's *time*, but was not inspired by him; but in any case it did not affect the main question. The question, when it reached India, was almost exclusively put to our own officials, and the replies, which had to assume an impartial

tone, may very naturally be classed as being, practically, "favourable" and "most favourable" to our present system, in proportion, possibly, as the writers were drawing from 500 to 5,000 rupees per mensem. (No, no.) If there was an unfavourable answer, it probably emanated from some discontented member of the Higher Uncovenanted Service, or from some third-class Assistant-Commissioner in a province where promotion was stagnating. (No, no.) That answer would probably, and very properly, not be printed at Government expense. Would that some magician's stroke had given us the reverse of the medal by transforming for the moment all self-congratulating officials into Kangra tea-merchants, briefless barristers, Native petitioners trying in vain to get a hearing, a Native chief snubbed by an ensign, journalists starting papers with fifty subscribers; or even into third-class Assistant-Commissioners of twelve years' standing, or returned civilians whom, happily, life in England had again made liberal; and we would have been told by those who only knew how our administration looks from *above*, that it looks very different when regarded from *below* by those whom it affects. That administration seems to be—although he did not say it was altogether so—a haphazard conglomeration of systems of routine, alike only in that they are obstructive—a government, personal, yet, from its constant transfers of officers, not preserving even the certainty of local despotism; inaccessible, in a country where there cannot be enough access between the foreigner and the Native; impatient of criticism, because too weak in its command of facts to accept criticism gratefully, and, with often the best intentions, rarely pleasant in their execution. There is not a single enlightened official who, at one period or the other in his career, has not suffered from the system which he at last perceives it is his interest to uphold—no Indian without a grievance; and all because where we have the opportunity of establishing the best and most lasting of governments, based on the highest principles, with the most docile material in our subjects for their success in practice, we prefer a rule of hand to mouth—"a rule that will last our time"—a rule which he feared would not last much longer, unless we strove, by the hearty admission of Natives into all our councils—indeed, by never taking a step without thoroughly and honestly ascertaining their wishes and wants,—to render it a government lasting for ever, in the inalienable affection and interests of our excellent Indian fellow-subjects. (Hear, hear.) The common way of looking at our government by the Natives was, that, no matter what they felt, "the ruler for the time being—*hákím-i-vagt*"—was always right in whatever he did, and that it was useless for them to make any representations. This form of speech was often a plaintive expression of despair, which was likely to produce

disaffection when circumstances favoured it. Yet, to revert to the circular, the Natives, without whom there could be no boast of the Grand Trunk road, and without whom we could not have built even the military barracks that have gone to pieces; the Natives, without whom the whole machinery of justice, police, education, revenue, and dockets without end, must come to a stand-still; the Natives, who speak of Naushirvan, and who, under Akbar, enjoyed all the advantages of the most tolerant rule, in addition to a full share in the plums of office—who, even under the capricious tyrant, Aurungzebe, had a system of revenue which made famines almost impossible; the Natives, whose village communities are patterns of self-government, whilst their worst despotism was always tempered by the accessibility of the despot; the Natives who, somehow, before we came, kept the Punjaub frontier and managed to rule their districts, who built the Kutub and the Taj (and who have built nothing worth the name under our rule); the Natives, who surpass us in fineness of touch, and whose exquisite industry is dying out for want of encouragement from us, who have fewer vices than any European artisans; the Natives, whose lowest representative, unless spoilt by us, has the manners—and he asserted this after a knowledge of Eastern races since 1847—the feelings of a gentleman; the Natives, whose literary minuteness and conscientiousness on questions of their learning, contrasts most favourably with the popularity-hunting to which, alas! even our best scholars often sacrifice their convictions; a race, keen, observant, and philosophical,—the *very* people who had lived under their and our own rule—the *only* people, indeed, from whom a complete answer to the question of the relative advantages of British and Native government *could* have come, *were never asked!* At the time he published a series of protests, *after* ascertaining, by means of neutrally-worded questions, which he widely circulated, how very fully Natives of every degree of education, Oriental or English—but chiefly the former—understood many of the niceties of Parliamentary representation. With the permission of the meeting he would read a few of the passages in the protests, and in the reports that reached him. At all events, he would submit the report to this Association for such consideration or action as they might deem fit to take upon it. The inquiry as to the advisability of establishing a Native Council for the Punjaub elicited the following facts: \* That the Natives knew very well what self-government is—can appreciate the advantages of Parliamentary organization; that they know the full meaning of representative government; that they are fully prepared to take their share

\* See page 39.

in it; but that they object to an extension of the municipal system upon the Anglo-Indian plan. The answers he received served to show that fairness and public spirit existed among the Natives, at least of the Punjab. One of the objectors to the formation of a representative Council says: "Why should Government fetter its own action by asking for the opinion of the people? It can now do as it likes, and will ever continue to do so. On the contrary, it is much better not to ask or inquire; for inquiry can only show that the people are unable to pay, for instance, certain taxes which, however, Government consider it necessary to levy. If the public policy of this country is to be based on argument, then an argument which may be considered conclusive by the Government may not be considered equally so by the people. This would be merely creating additional difficulty in the way of carrying out measures. Of course, theoretical government, based on the principle that it is instituted to promote the welfare of the subjects, will only too gladly listen to their opinions; but as Government is, after all, only composed of fallible individuals, it is certain that they, with very few exceptions, will not tolerate interference. The British Government, however, has a desire to govern only for the benefit of the people; but it is neither respectful nor safe to offer opinions contrary to that of any of its *hákims*" = the rulers. Those who read between the lines would be able to distinguish the irony in those remarks. Another reply was: "There is no other way of informing the people of what the Government want, or the Government of what the people want, than a council. Newspapers, and the fact that Government call occasionally for the views of Natives, are very useful in their way; but they afford the people neither a sufficient means of expressing their opinions, nor a sufficient guarantee that such opinions will be listened to." Another observes: "The Government is, no doubt, very wise in all it does; but the fact remains that it is a stranger to many of the feelings and wants of the people." Then, another in favour of the scheme said: "What other means can there be for knowing what the people want? No law can be popular that does not receive the consent of the people. Such a Council will be a great source of strength to the Government, for it will be only too ready to give assistance, knowing that it is backed up by the people." These (continued Dr. Leitner) were but a few representative specimens; and he could not be charged with a revolutionary spirit in advocating such principles as would lead the Natives to co-operate in the government whilst so distinguished a man as Sir Donald McLeod had given his support to them. The future, he thought, was promising. In the speech lately made by Lord Salisbury a promise was given of intended measures towards identifying the interests

of the ruled with those of the rulers in India, and it inspired hope in all those who wished to see constitutional freedom, untrammelled commerce, and enlightened local self-development in every part of the world. Lord Salisbury, however, while taking credit for the India Office because of its immutability, and consequently an infallibility worthy of the great Lama, still points out that very grievous mistakes have been made by those officers on whose power to rule he so strongly compliments the British nation. He would not suspect his lordship of anything like an ironical observation, but it was approaching it to admit grievous mistakes resulting from an ignorance of Native wants in connection with infallibility, and to give a pledge of practical reforms whilst speaking of immutability. The *Times*, referring to the promise of a closer identification of the interests of the ruled with those of the rulers, said it would be "a complete subversion of the principle that had governed India hitherto;" but at the same time that journal believes rather in the break of gauge in the iron system of the India Office, and the raising of the Native to the rights of British fellow-citizenship, as likely to make the British Empire in the East stronger and more satisfactory to all. This was precisely what he (the speaker) had been striving for the last ten years in India to attain, believing that whatever might be the difficulties in the way of a Native obtaining that privilege, it would be, when obtained, as highly prized as Roman citizenship was. Under the present system the officials in India were certainly able to rule. In every human being there was an inclination to rule, and especially in Englishmen; and such being the case, without any particular administrative ability or special fitness for government, the officers, with the best of prospects before them, were naturally compelled and stimulated to rise to the emergencies of the occasion. He had no desire to disparage these officials, but in Turkey he had known barbers promoted to be Grand Viziers, and successful tailors administering the province of Bagdad. There was a proverb in Turkey which perhaps exemplified what occurred in India, and which said that "to whom God gives an office He also gives the necessary wisdom." Having further urged the necessity for admitting Natives to the administration, and demonstrated their capacity by reference to the remains of their ancient civilization, as evidenced in the ruins of ancient canals and public works, their superiority in the production of textile fabrics, their literature and their poetry, Dr. Leitner went on to say that India is very much in the position that England would be in if there were no independent press, no public meetings, no local self-government, no courts absolutely independent of the Government, and if everything that affected the personal and general well-being of Englishmen had to depend on the breath of a few high-minded Prussian officials, on extravagant pay, but with-

out Prussian knowledge and fixity of purpose, bound together by the strongest ties of self-interest, and the most powerful *esprit de corps* (the necessary consequence of unity of interest), whose personal demeanour was generally arrogant, and to whom access in business was impeded by innumerable obstacles, chiefly technical, based on a mistaken view of discipline, good order, and the maintenance of the prestige of the ruling power. If England, under such a rule, had a civilization and traditions of her own, this yoke would be doubly galling; and its weight would be doubly felt if protestations of liberalism accompanied the practice of despotism, and if our quality of adherence to the laws of the country were contemptuously called subservience, want of manliness, &c. The case in India was stronger, because the English differ far more from the Natives than the Prussians do from the English. Take now the position of the supposed Prussian official. Himself in the receipt of good pay, on the savings from which he would eventually retire to his Fatherland, all his meaner instincts are suppressed. He will not take bribes, because the discovery would imperil a position far more valuable than any bribe could be. On the other hand, he would see Englishmen craving for official favours—to them a necessity—where he could ask for them or claim them as a right. He would discover that, under the show of loyalty, there would lurk disaffection; that, under protestations of personal attachment, there would be real dislike; that there would be an eagerness for petty gains and petty honours, despised by himself, because he does not want them, but coveted by the wretched helots, to whom such things constitute all they can have; and the general conclusion of the Prussian would be that the Englishmen were a vile race, and he would stigmatize them in the way that the English do the Natives of India, as being untruthful, grovelling, intriguing, disloyal, &c. Once this feeling gained ground, it would unconsciously tincture the action of every official, however well-intentioned, and the attitude towards the Natives would be at once a false one, and be destructive of mutual confidence and friendly social intercourse, thus preventing the receipt of information, and in the end proving suicidal to the Government. Under such circumstances (still continuing the parallel), what Englishman would curry favour with the conquerors? The best or the worst? Both perhaps, but certainly not those who represent national interests. What was now found in India was that those whose position did not force them into contact with officials, or whose education had not alienated them from their own countrymen, cultivated no relations with the officials. Then there were other excellent Natives, who really believed that the interests of their country required assimilation to an English pattern. But the share of government allowed was quite a farce. Even

where the veto of the Deputy Commissioner was not sufficient to override the opinion of a dozen Native members, his view commanded acquiescence from those whose property, honour, and general welfare were practically under his control. (No, no.) Natives of India could be dealt with much like the Natives of any other country. They are not inferior to the masses of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, or Germans, and could be swayed by noble influences. But most men who have an object to gain, in all countries, do so by force, if they have it, or by flattery if they do not have the force. However, just as you can appeal to Englishmen through their love of literal truthfulness, fair play, public spirit, spirit of enterprise, so you can build up a fabric of lasting good in India by the elements furnished to you by the good points in the Native character—reverence for authority, benevolence to relations however distant, the quotations of their sages and poets, their docility, slow but lasting application (not nervous, as that of the Europeans) to their work, and a number of philosophical and humanitarian views which are current. Referring to the clap-trap which ended in the *petroleuses* of Paris, Dr. Leitner said that our best sentiments have been so often used for unworthy purposes, our professions have been so often belied by practice, the highest expressions have been so often dragged through the popular mouth as to have lost their value—indeed, European civilization has become so abstract and generalizing in its watchwords, that it has out-run our nature. But with the Natives of India words have not yet lost all their power, and you can use these with effect to influence them for good. Sympathy, more even than legislative capacity, is required. His own experience had been most encouraging. Poor as they are, they have come forward with an astounding liberality, which would have put to shame Europeans, who talk more, but, in comparison with their means, subscribe much less. Indeed, there was a time in the Punjab when we could have identified ourselves for ever with our Native fellow-subjects. They began to feel as if they had no longer a foreign government, but their own, to deal with. When he remembered what might have been done, and what had been neglected or undone by official obstructiveness, he almost despaired of the future of India and the beloved province to which he belonged. There was, in the period of enthusiasm to which he referred, no scheme started which did not command their attention and ready support. In a few weeks they had over three lakhs subscribed for an agricultural company, one lakh for a bank to make advances to agriculturists on low terms, so as to save them from the rapacity of the Banias; large sums of money were brought in bags, and had to be refused. In education we got over 32,000*l.* for the endowment of a National University, as well as large



annual subscriptions. This brought him to the second part of his subject.

## II.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MATTERS OF EDUCATION.

In his experience he had found that, in local committees of instruction, where Natives were consulted and their opinions acted upon, and where, in the appointment of masters, they were allowed to have "a finger in the pie," education was better carried on and greater interest taken in it than was possible in places where the only superintendence was exercised by the flying visits once a-year of inspectors of education. If the Natives were admitted to the government of the schools, they would be quite willing to contribute to their support. This had been sufficiently shown in the Punjaub University movement. There the Natives were made aware of the interest which certain Europeans took in their languages, and here a line might be drawn between those who knew their literature and language and those who did not. Those who knew it would respect the Natives, whilst those who knew nothing of the value and exquisiteness of Oriental literature would despise them. In the Punjaub the Natives came forward and subscribed largely to the endowment of educational institutions, and those who had borne the brunt of the battle knew very well what success had been attained, and that had there been less Government interference, the success would have been ten times as great. Even now, if the promises made by Government were fulfilled, the Punjaub University would become a centre of healthy educational life, and would exert a beneficial influence throughout India. When the poverty of Government institutions was contrasted with the wealth that a national institution could at once possess, and the number of students the latter could draw, it seemed very extraordinary that more encouragement was not given by the Government to the Natives in connection with education. Here was an institution, with 267 undergraduates, gradually raising the tone of education in the province, and which could show twenty for every five in attendance at a Government College. The professors who were appointed perhaps drew less pay, but they were imbued with a far more healthy spirit than in the Government centres of education—men who took an interest in Indian education for its own sake, for they had the spirit alike common to *savans* and to missionaries. The University had sixteen teachers in the various branches of higher education. It had a medical college; law and philosophy were taught, and an attempt made to carry out the "comparative method" by bringing to bear the European system on Eastern learning, history, and languages, and trying to foster what

alone could be good for India—a development of civilization from within. And yet to that institution the name of University was still denied, and those who worked for its success had to be content with the hybrid term of University College, whilst it was the only University in India in the fullest sense, and to which might be added the Indian sense, of the term. That institution did not simply profess to examine candidates over an area of 1,500 or 1,600 miles by the curious method of epistolary communications, as was done by the examining centre at Calcutta once a-year! This institution did more than that: it combined the advantages of the University of London with that of a German or Scotch University. This University was not only an examining body, but a teaching body, and also fulfilled the functions of an academy for the revival of Oriental literature, and the spread of European knowledge, by means of the vernacular, so as to instil into the minds of the rising generation an amount of English education not imparted elsewhere, and to teach the masses an English education of a kind that will elevate and acquaint them with all that is pure in our literature, and by adapting to them those moral precepts which are of universal application. He hoped he should not again encounter those loud but, to him, encouraging marks of disapproval—encouraging, because they showed that an interest was taken in an Indian question—if he said that, in his humble opinion, the education at present given by the Government in India was no better than that given in Turkey—for in Turkey, at all events, the little boys were taught at school to obey their parents, &c., which they were not in India—and that, instead of giving the boys useless knowledge, that of a kind likely to fit them for the business of life should be substituted, as that would be of more lasting benefit than teaching them the latitude of Timbuctoo. Addressing the Chairman, the Lecturer expressed a hope that he would, upon his next visit to India, gauge the feelings of the people of India, whose interests he had represented in Parliament; and, if he (the speaker) might be so venturesome as to take the liberty, to suggest that he should devote himself as fully to the wants of the great frontier province, where, more than elsewhere, it was important that the loyalty of the people should be strengthened. He hoped, too, that the educational institutions of the Punjaub would have his attention, and he would find them trammelled with a variety of rightly or wrongly founded official considerations, the bulk of which did not arise from the local Government, but were barriers thrown in the onward march of education by probably well-meaning members of the Supreme Government who are identified with the University of Calcutta, and with purely Bengal interests. He would find that, in spite of numerous obstacles, the Natives

still adhered to the original principles of the movement for self-government in education, which they were endeavouring to carry out; that, notwithstanding the broken pledges of the Government, the Natives still support the University because they are determined to prove that they are in earnest, and still believe in the honesty of our professions, and in the advocacy of their European friends. He begged also that the East India Association would inquire into the practices by which funds obtained by officers who had a name at stake and a reputation to lose, were misapplied altogether, or diverted from the purpose for which the donors intended them.

A MEMBER: By whom?

Dr. LEITNER: Chiefly by a number of well-meaning officials in the Supreme Government, who imagine that they understand such matters better than the Natives and the local Government. The money subscribed for the Punjab University was invested in Government securities instead of in a more profitable manner, and was now simply dealt with as any other item in the Budget under the control of the Government. Many men, under the circumstances, seeing no chance of the fulfilment of the pledges given in these matters, and especially in regard to the Punjab University, had thrown up the sponge; but he should continue to take every opportunity, in season and out of season, in the press and at public meetings, to urge that the Natives who had been asked to subscribe money for certain definite purposes, and on certain distinct conditions, should be allowed to direct the expenditure of the money for those purposes; and it was the duty of English officials, as honest administrators, to fulfil the pledges given in all faith by Sir Donald McLeod and others on the part of the Government. In so urging this, he was sure to encounter official opposition, but he was used to that, and should live it down. What he desired to see was a local Council, in which Natives were represented, to conduct the higher education in every province, and the same principle to be extended to the cities and villages; feeling convinced that by this means a rise would take place in the general education of the masses which was quite undreamt of in our present philosophy. In passing along the frontier he had been instrumental in getting subscriptions to start twenty-two Mahomedan and Hindu schools, which the Natives liberally supported, because they managed these schools themselves. The whole course of his experience, and that was considerable, pointed to this one thing, that if education was to become general in India, it would only be by allowing local self-government in educational matters. If this were adopted, the rise in intelligence would, *inter alia*, put a stop to the murders, robberies, and kidnapping which caused so much trouble on our frontier, as the

rising generation would be trained to civilization, and, being well grounded in morality, would be prevented from conniving at the raids which were now made. Then in regard to the teaching in the schools. In addition to teaching what was necessary for the welfare of the Natives in this world, it was a question how far the Government had done right in eliminating all religious instruction from its schools. They were either State schools or they were not; and if the former, he saw no reason why the Native priesthood should not be identified with the influence of the Government. It would be better to have leaders of seeing men than leaders of the blind; and wherever there was true learning among the Native priesthood, there was *less* bigotry than where the priests were ignorant of their own sacred learning. Therefore he thought that even in mixed Government schools religious instruction could be given, as in Germany, by the priests (Pandits, Moulvis, Gurus, &c.), teaching the pupils belonging to their own denomination, separately, for an hour or so a-day, whilst pupils of all religions would, as heretofore, join in the secular subjects or lessons on general morality common to all. This would be preferable to having religious education carried on by obscure squatters in the entrance to the mosques or temples, who had an opportunity of filling those who listened to them with hatred of the Government. Without a moral basis of education, enjoining reverence to their leaders, their teachers, their parents, their government, and their God, no satisfactory kind of civilization could be developed in India, whatever might be the value of purely secular education in other countries. It was, in fact, impossible to dissociate teaching from a moral basis; and unless the Natives were themselves consulted in regard to the form this should take, and were admitted to a share in the organization of educational institutions, he was afraid that very little good would ever be achieved. In concluding, Dr. Leitner said that perhaps he ought to have done the meeting the compliment of writing out what he had to say, but those present would perceive that he was full of the subject, although his ill-health had prevented him from doing it justice. Under the circumstances he appealed to them to look at the substance of what he had said, and the motives that prompted him, having spent, as he had done, the whole of his life in the cause of education. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said it was evident that there were several gentlemen present who differed in opinion from the lecturer, who, certainly, had all courage in giving utterance to his views upon that most important of all subjects affecting India—the education of its people. The usual course was for the discussion to follow the address,

and as he saw several gentlemen present who were profoundly acquainted with the subject, and who had expressed dissent from some of the remarks, he would call upon them to address the meeting, rather than occupy the time with any remarks of his own.

The Rev. J. LONG said the first part of the question, as treated by Dr. Leitner, did not seem to have much relation with the second part. Sir George Campbell, when Governor of Bengal, carried out the idea of associating Natives in municipal bodies for educational purposes, and although the scheme was attended with considerable difficulty, it was not unsuccessful. Dr. Leitner, in his long address, had not pointed out any practical way of carrying out the suggestion of uniting the Natives with Europeans in educational administration. (Hear, hear.) All would be willing to agree that the mission of the English in India was to train the Natives to self-government. Where the differences began was on the question, how and when this should be done? The difficulty was to avoid going too far or too fast on the one side, or too slow on the other. There could be no doubt that towards the creation of the municipal system in India a most important step had been made; but his experience in Bengal was that the educated and professional classes opposed and ignored the education of the masses, although to this rule there were noble exceptions, and there was good reason to hope that the upper classes were gradually becoming permeated with a better feeling. This difficulty, however—the difficulty of caste—must long be a stumbling-block to the Government in their efforts to educate the people, as it was, indeed, to nearly every effort to civilize and raise the people to a European standard. At present, too commonly, the men of high caste look down with scorn upon those of a lower caste, and do not scruple to say that a cow might as well be taught to dance as that people of the inferior grades should be educated. Ingrained feelings like these militated strongly against the successful working of municipal institutions; as, indeed, they operated against every effort of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the people. Another working difficulty was how to get the masses of the people represented in the local municipalities; the fact being that in many instances the representation was only nominal. Dr. Leitner had not shown how this difficulty could be obviated, or how the masses could have their wants and aspirations properly reflected in the municipalities.

Sir ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT said that as the Chairman had appealed to those who had ventured to intimate their dissent from some of Dr. Leitner's remarks, he would take the liberty of saying a few words. In the first place, he must observe that he had come to the meeting quite unprepared for the very comprehensive discussion which

had been raised by Dr. Leitner's discursive address. According to the card stating the object of the meeting, he had expected to hear an address on the expediency of introducing Native self-government into matters of education. Dr. Leitner's address was taken up with a far more comprehensive subject than that specified—it had comprehended the whole question of associating Natives of India with the British authorities in the government of the country, which was a question of paramount and vital importance to the good government of the country, and probably no one present would say that too much importance had been attached by Dr. Leitner to the subject. He must, however, express his entire dissent from the views which Dr. Leitner had attributed to the British authorities in India generally upon this subject; and from his long connection with the Anglo-Indian official class—having been himself more than thirty years a member of it—he felt himself entitled to express an opinion upon that point. (Hear, hear.) During twenty years he had constantly devoted himself, in his official capacity, to the subject of education, and to the measures to be adopted with the view of rendering the Natives of India qualified to take a larger share in the administration of public affairs, and to occupy higher posts than those hitherto filled by them, the Government having for many years past held out to the Natives promises and pledges of advancement in the public service on their becoming qualified for it. In the Presidency of Madras a great deal had been and was being done to associate the Natives of the country with the administration of affairs. In the Legislative Council of Madras there were educated Natives thoroughly competent to assist the European members in their deliberations; and having sat in that Council for ten years, he was able to assert that among all the official and unofficial persons with whom he had come into contact, there were none more useful and valuable than some of the Native members of the Council; one particularly he had in view when he spoke—a gentleman who, he was happy to say, was still a member of that body, and of whose services to the State he was able to speak in the highest terms. (Name.) He alluded to Mr. Vembaukam Ramyengar, than whom he did not believe there was an abler official in any Indian presidency or province. (Hear, hear.) Nor was that gentleman the only Native member of the Council who had been known and respected for his intelligence and ability. Another measure which had been recently introduced for associating the Natives in the administration was the establishment of Local Funds Boards. By the Madras Local Funds Act it was provided that the administration of funds raised by local taxation within the limits of each district should be administered by Boards composed of Natives and Europeans. He himself had been a member of one of

these Boards for eighteen months. As a member of the Government he had been cautious not to take a prominent part in the administrative business of the Board, but had principally confined himself to observation. The fact of this Board being located in a district near Madras, perhaps, gave scope for a more than usually good selection of Native members; but however this may have been, nothing could have been more satisfactory than the working of the Board. The leading member was a Native, holding a subordinate position under the Government at Madras, who devoted himself with zeal and ability to the administration of the finances, and was largely instrumental in checking extravagance in the public works in the district. In many ways his experience and energy had produced economy, and his labours, without doubt, had resulted in the saving of many thousands of rupees to the public in connection with the road system of the district. These local Boards had also to deal with the provision of schools for elementary education, and it was part of the intention of the Legislature that local Committees, in addition to these local Boards, should be formed for essentially local objects, such as elementary schools. How far such local Committees had been established he could not say, for there were great difficulties to be overcome. There could be no doubt that much remained to be accomplished in carrying out the expectations and pledges to which he had alluded, but nothing was more certain than that all measures of improvement in relation to the people of India must necessarily be tentative and slow. (Hear, hear.) Reverting to Dr. Leitner's comments on the tendencies of Anglo-Indian officials, he felt constrained to observe that, although prefacing his address by a few complimentary observations, Dr. Leitner had been very severe, and, in his opinion, unfair to the English officials in India. (Hear, hear.) In that portion of his address in which he referred to the circular which was sent out, under Lord Lawrence's administration, to obtain expressions of opinion as to the comparative merits of Native and English rule, Dr. Leitner had adverted to the replies in terms which appeared to him to be unwarranted by the facts of the case. His impression was that the opinions sent in reply to the circular note were such as exhibited great differences of opinion, and in no sense could they be called unanimous in the views expressed upon British, as contrasted with Native, rule. The defects of our administration were freely and candidly pointed out, and freedom of criticism was not by any means confined to those who had been unfortunate in promotion in the Service, or to those whose position rendered them dissatisfied with the existing state of things. On the contrary, some of the highest and ablest officers of the State had criticized freely and even severely what they considered to be defects in the British administration. He must, therefore, ex-

press his entire dissent from Dr. Leitner's remarks on this subject, as in much that Dr. Leitner had said, and more that he had implied as to the disposition of the members of the Civil Service, there was, he ventured to say, a great amount of exaggeration. (Hear, hear.) His own experience had been quite contrary to what Dr. Leitner's appeared to have been. He could call to mind not a single case where the expression of a free, candid, and sincere opinion, even where it might be supposed to differ from the opinions held by the authorities, had ever been discouraged; nor was he personally aware of any case in which the expression of opinion had militated against the advancement of the individual. Individual cases of the kind there might have been, for no one could pretend that our administration in India was millennially perfect; but as a matter of fact, comparing India with England or with any other country in Europe, or with any other country under the sun, the comparison in this respect would be greatly in favour of India. (Hear, hear.) And he would repeat that in that country the honest official who was prepared to state his views truthfully, frankly, and freely on points within his sphere of observation was, as a rule, listened to with respect by the authorities, and that the contrary was the rarest possible exception. (Cheers.)

Mr. LEPEL GRIFFIN, who was introduced by Dr. Leitner as one having a large and varied experience of the subject of education in the Punjaub, remarked that the kind and genial introduction of Dr. Leitner would almost disarm the adverse criticism which he was about to offer. He was bound, however, to say that he differed widely from Dr. Leitner on many points, though his remarks were not dictated by any unkind feeling or spirit of hypercriticism; for he was perfectly aware that Dr. Leitner was a man who had thoroughly devoted himself to the work of education, and that to his zealous efforts was due the establishment of the Punjaub University. It was his own creation, although he had been too modest to allude to it in that character. In that educational experiment the whole educated population of the Punjaub had taken the utmost interest, and when the Supreme Government was pleased to accord the title and privileges of a University, as had been promised, it would take rank as the first educational institution in Hindustan. Nevertheless, he was free to confess that he did not anticipate all the beneficial effects from the spread of education to which Dr. Leitner so confidently pointed. He did not see how the frontier raids would cease by reason of the universality of education in India, for the raiders were not amenable to the instruction of the Indian schools, being from beyond the frontier. As regards the proposal to introduce religious education into the schools, he had the strongest objection to it. Educated men in Eng-



land were just escaping from the trammels and chains of theology, and it was not now for the Government to come forward and re-forged those chains from which they had laboriously freed themselves. In his remarks on the characteristics of the officials of the Government in India, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot had anticipated him in the views he had expressed: As a Punjaubi official, his experience had led him to entertain opinions directly contrary to those of Dr. Leitner, although he might be suspected of some natural prejudice on the subject. As Secretary to the Punjab Government, he had been thrown into contact with many Native gentlemen who, as officials or private individuals, were to be thoroughly trusted, and were unimpeachably upright and independent, and with some of these he had enjoyed the closest intimacy. Dr. Leitner's harsh view of the results of Indian officialism could by no means apply to such men as these, for they were not afraid to express their views in an independent and truthful spirit, and without the slightest favour or bias, although upon some of them the Government had worthily bestowed high honours. The circular to which Dr. Leitner had referred was sent by Lord Lawrence's Government to no favoured and selected few, but to all who were supposed to be best qualified to furnish the required information, whether Native or European. The fact of their position had nothing to do with it—it was their knowledge and experience which was alone considered; and whoever looked carefully into the matter would find that this was the case. The majority of the opinions adverse to the Government were not those of Natives, but of English officers. Further, he would say that it was politic and right to consult the Native ministers of independent states in British India, and the circular was sent to them as being well qualified to give a reply. They must be the very best persons, being qualified by position, by training, and knowledge, to give an enlightened opinion. If it was to be said that the zemindars under British rule should have been asked to express their views, it would be fair to ask what they, who had known no other than British rule, could know of Native government; and it would be seen that they were not in a position to pass a judgment on the merits of the two systems. It would be just like asking the peasants of Devonshire to express their views on the comparative merits of the German and English Governments. Nor was it any use asking the trading classes, for, of course, they were always in opposition. (A laugh.) They were always discontented, and would remain so. Nor would it have been of service to have asked the nobles who had lost their position and employment, for they were naturally dissatisfied, and would continue so until they accepted the educational advantages which Dr. Leitner was prepared to give them. Dr. Leitner

could hardly have been serious in his remarks upon Indian officials, for they were by no means supported by facts ; nor in his reflections upon the body of Englishmen did he carry conviction. He did not pay Englishmen any compliment by comparing the Natives of India under English rule to the hypothetical condition of England under Prussian rule. Said the speaker with warmth, " We are the first of imperial races, " and as yet do not own to be second to Prussia, France, or any other " nation," (Hear, hear.) England had proved her capacity for government by the logic of facts. Of other nations, some had no colonies, and others had failed in governing them. Englishmen had governed wherever they had gone, and he hoped they would continue to do so to the end of the chapter. (Hear, hear.) He also had had some little experience of Turkey, and objected to the comparisons made by the lecturer. Who would think of comparing English officials to the barbers or tailors who were promoted to administer or mal-administer provinces in that empire, who had paralyzed trade and ruined agriculture, and dragged Turkey behind all the nations of Europe? (Applause.)

Mr. W. TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) thought the lecturer had, perhaps inexpediently, mixed together two very important subjects—the political independence of Natives, and their feelings in regard to education ; and his mode of dealing with the first of those subjects had elicited from Sir Alexander Arbuthnot a very valuable advocacy and defence of the much-abused officials. As the time was waning, however, he would content himself with a reference to the educational question. Dr. Leitner had made gratifying mention of a paper on " Popular Education " which he (Mr. Tayler) read at one of the meetings of the Association, and the remarks which followed it from Sir Donald McLeod had given some sort of basis for Dr. Leitner's interesting speech. He himself thought that in all discussions, which are practically unlimited, it was always desirable that each person should give the results of his own experience, as Dr. Leitner had done, as Sir Alexander Arbuthnot had done, and as he proposed to do. In 1855 he was made Commissioner of Patna, having accepted that office in preference to an appointment in the Sudder Court, because of his, perhaps, foolish enthusiasm in the cause of education. When he entered upon his Commissionership, the first thing he did was to give his attention to the educational position of the district. At that time the " system " of education in vogue in Behar was an utterly absurd and inappropriate one, and so cruelly inefficient that not a single educated Native would give it his co-operation. It excited (as he officially reported at the time) a feeling of dissatisfaction, which culminated in the rebellion two years later. He immediately communicated with the Director of Public In-

struction, and represented to him that the minds of the people were entirely opposed to it, and that the deputy inspectors were driven to get up sham schools with the assistance of the police! When, in his capacity as Commissioner, he went through the district, he found sham scholars and surreptitious pupils got together for a sort of examination, which was an absurd and miserable farce. Such was the state of things in Patna in 1855; he (Mr. Tayler) immediately represented these facts to the Government, and added that if they really desired to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the educated classes and the landowners in the matter of education, he would venture to say that it could be done, and that if they would, as an experiment, place the whole department under him, he would guarantee that, instead of the miserable sham just spoken of, all the landowners in his district would establish schools, and would co-operate in their management and maintenance. His views were approved by the Government, and he was placed in charge of the department. He communicated with all the Rajahs and leading people, amongst them that celebrated rebel, Koer Singh—a noble old chieftain, who was driven into rebellion by injudicious treatment—and he met his proposals with the greatest generosity. He said, “I will establish schools in this village and in that village, but “I don’t approve of your education.” Upon being asked, “Why?” he replied, “You see this ‘mala’;” (touching a rosary made of gold and oodrach seeds) “there is in a corner of your slave’s kingdom a race of “people small and black as monkeys. If I drop my rosary amongst “them, next day one of these creatures will bring it to me and say, “‘My lord, here is your rosary.’ If I were to drop my rosary here “in Arrah—at the door of your school-house—should I ever see it “again?” He (Mr. Tayler) was compelled to admit that it was very unlikely. “My lord, I will establish schools, as you ask, but this is my “opinion of your education,” added the chieftain. He, however, gave his assistance and established schools, and he (Mr. Tayler) was enabled to obtain the assistance of other of the principal men in co-operation with him in the same work; and at Patna itself a central institution was organized, in which, instead of teaching the children to spout ridiculous verses about “Chloe’s bosom,” lover’s sighs, &c., he adopted means to qualify them for their position in life, by teaching them the useful sciences, farming, agriculture, carpentering, gardening, &c., combined with the three R’s. In this undertaking he received the most gratifying and enthusiastic letters from the Rev. Mr. Long, Dr. Duff, Dr. Mouat, and others; Dr. Duff saying he had realized what had been his dream for years. In connection with this scheme he started a subscription, and raised two lakhs of rupees in a few months, took a farm, built

workshops, and opened a school, to which the sons of many of the chief Natives were sent. How the whole scheme, which promised so well, became a failure was not for him to record; he had mentioned it simply as a proof that there is not only capacity, but willingness, on the part of the respectable Natives of India to co-operate with the officials, if judiciously dealt with, in education, as in all other reasonable enterprises. What he had related would show that it was possible to insure the sympathy and co-operation of the educated Natives, as he had done in Arrah, where one of the most bigoted Mahomedans, who first opposed the schools, was led to see the advantages of them, and not only gave them his support, but sent four of his sons to one. Every one of the Rajahs was induced to co-operate. In regard to religious education, Mr. Tayler expressed himself as opposed to it as being impossible, preferring that the great moral truths which underlie dogmatic religion should be inculcated—a course which would not be subject to any difficulties. In concluding his interesting address Mr. Tayler, being asked his views regarding Natives being made to suffer because of their opinions, said that he knew of the most painful instances, too painful for him to mention, where men had been punished and turned out of their offices for siding with officers who had differed from the Government. Of this he had had personal experience, and the matter would be made public some day; meanwhile, the services of some of the men who had exhibited this noble feeling, and who were turned out of their offices in Patna at the time of the rebellion, were being recognized, and one of them had even received the Star of India at the hands of our Queen.

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM said he had been six years connected with the Educational Department in Madras, and there Native co-operation was secured by giving Natives seats in the governing Council. The University in Madras was, from the first, composed partially of Natives, and from time to time senators had been added to the list, both Native and European. He could not see how greater co-operation could be suggested; and that led him to remark that the great defect of Dr. Leitner's able address was, that it dealt generally with grievances, but failed to show any remedies for those grievances. It seemed to him that, notwithstanding the defects hinted at by the lecturer as existing in Indian Universities, it was not possible to transform these examining bodies into similar institutions to Oxford and Cambridge. The Natives could not be got to dwell together as was the case at those places, although the student could attend at ten o'clock in the morning to study under an able professor, and then go home again in the evening. With regard to the Native element in municipal bodies, what Sir Alexander Arbuthnot had said was perfectly true, but there was something to be

added to it. Those Natives were not chosen by the people, but by the governing Council, and they were only eligible for the office for two years, and did not represent the people at all, because it was to their interest to go with the current and not to ruffle the feelings of the Governor by opposition. If they were to do so, at the expiration of their term of office they would find that they were quietly shelved by not being re-elected. Therefore, there was no actual representation, since the members held their seats only by the will and pleasure of the Government, and could exercise no control over the measures submitted to them.

A MEMBER : There have been measures opposed.

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM : No measures have been rejected. The Natives are not numerous enough, as Sir Alexander Arbuthnot is aware.

Sir ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT : As you appeal to me, I will say that one main reason for measures being unopposed was, that it was our invariable practice at Madras to consult the Native Princes before bringing in any measure.

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM : Then you decided unofficially whether you would bring in the measure officially, and thus had it cut and dried.

Mr. J. H. STOCQUER : Quite right ; the same principle is observed in courts-martial. The ensigns are asked their opinion first, so that it may be given independently.

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM then proceeded to comment upon the composition of the Local Funds Boards ; and having been a member of one of them more for the purpose of observation than anything else, he found them to be composed of men of insufficient education, unable to discuss matters of public importance freely and without fear, the business being, *ipso facto*, decided by the collector of the district, who was the President of the Board. No one in a district wished to incur the displeasure of the collector, and this official, with the deputy collectors, was enabled to carry all before them ; so that in every governing body the official element predominated. With regard to the religious question, he would say, in conclusion, that there were so many religious distinctions in India that it would be totally impossible to incorporate instruction in religion with school teaching, as it would require the appointment of too large a number of teachers of the different religious sects. (Hear, hear.)

Several members rose and were about to address the meeting, when

Mr. STOCQUER moved the adjournment of the meeting, urging that it would not be fair to the opener of the debate to have to reply at such a late hour in the afternoon.

Mr. LONG seconded the adjournment, on the ground of the import-

ance of the subject, and said he had taken a deep interest in the Punjab University movement.

Another gentleman suggested that if the meeting were adjourned, it would be as well to provide that the subject under consideration should be more strictly adhered to upon the next occasion of meeting.

MIRZA PIR BAKSH contended that it was impossible to dissociate the question of self-government generally from that of Native capacity in educational administration, and that Dr. Leitner could not have avoided the larger subject.

The CHAIRMAN said the lecturer had the latitude of dealing with the subject as he pleased, which was no more than fair; but as the meeting had apparently got into the right groove towards the last, the next might be more easily restricted to the subject of education.

The adjournment having been agreed upon, the date of the next meeting being left open to be subsequently arranged,

Dr. LEITNER rose and expressed a hope that those gentlemen who had expressed opposition to what he had said would endeavour to be present at the next meeting, as he should then have the opportunity of setting himself right on many points in regard to which dissent had been expressed. He was prepared to answer with regard to the pressure brought to bear on officials from his own experience, and he was fully aware of the effect of everything that he had advanced, in which there was not a single point which could not be corroborated. At the same time he was perfectly willing to admit the sincerity of those who had opposed him; but he could account for it by the fact that the position in which they were placed did not allow them any other stand-point.

The proceedings then terminated.

## APPENDIX.

### I.—THE PUNJAUB UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT.

THE following are some of the most important Papers connected with the history and success of the above Institution:—

(a.) LAHORE, SUBSEQUENTLY PUNJAUB, UNIVERSITY.

PROGRAMME, CONTAINING THE PRINCIPLES AND PROMISES ON THE STRENGTH  
OF WHICH SUBSCRIPTIONS WERE OBTAINED.

*European Committee of Support.*

PRESIDENT—The Hon. Sir Donald McLeod, K.C.S.I., C.B.

MEMBERS—A. A. Roberts, Esq., C.B., C.S.I.; F. H. Cooper, Esq., C.B.; Colonel R. MacLagan, R.E.; T. H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L.; C. U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.; G. W. Leitner, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.; Baden Powell, Esq.; Lepel Griffin, Esq. (*Secretary*.)

We, the undersigned, members of a European Committee formed in support of the University which is proposed to be established at Lahore, in our private capacities\* as well-wishers to a movement which is becoming a national one, earnestly call your attention to the following declaration of our educational views, and of the aims and principles of the new University. Should they meet with your approval, we invite your cordial co-operation towards realizing them by every means in your power.

D. F. McLEOD, *President*.

A. A. ROBERTS.	F. H. COOPER.
ROBERT MACLAGAN.	T. H. THORNTON.
C. U. AITCHISON.	G. W. LEITNER.
BADEN POWELL.	LEPEL GRIFFIN, <i>Secretary</i> .

*Objects and Principles of the Proposed Lahore University.*

It has been thought desirable by the European Committee of Support of the new University at Lahore, that a statement of the principles upon which it is being founded, and of the objects which it desires to attain, should be drawn up for general circulation.

1. It may be stated that although the movement to which the University owes its origin has specially been termed "*Oriental*," yet that, by the use of the term, no revival of the old warfare between the Orientalists and "Anglicists" is signified. While the revival of the Eastern learning and the creation of a good vernacular literature will be the primary object of the University, yet English will be still considered as the natural complement of education, and of the highest value to the Native student whose mind has been thoroughly disciplined by a study of his national classics.

2. A quotation from the well-known educational despatch of the Secretary of

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\* The local Government have endorsed these principles and promises officially.—*Vide* "The Education of India," 1874-75, compiled by Mr. E. W. Parker, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, University College.

State for India will fitly precede any further observations, as it both explains and justifies the present movement: "The Government schools and colleges, whether high "or low, should be regarded, not as permanent institutions, but only as a means for "generating a desire and demand for education, and as models meanwhile for imita- "tion by private institutions. In proportion as the demand for education in any "given locality is generated, and as private institutions spring up and flourish, all "possible aid and encouragement should be afforded to them; and the Government, "in place of using its power and resources to compete with private parties, should "rather contract and circumscribe its measures of direct education, and so shape its "measures as to pave the way for the abolition of its own schools."

3. It should be understood that the Oriental movement at Lahore is in no way antagonistic to the Educational Department, which, in some form or another, must always remain a necessity in India, and which, at all events, must continue for a long time to be a model to private institutions. It is probable that but for it, no demand for education would ever have arisen in this country; but, a special demand having arisen, it clearly becomes a duty to act in the spirit of the above-quoted despatch, and give it every possible encouragement. No happier fulfilment of the despatch can be imagined than in a movement which promises to enlist the sympathies of the whole people in its success; and through such a movement alone does it appear likely that the Government will ever be able to contract its own measures of direct education.

4. The necessity for a University founded on these principles at Lahore, is shown by the eagerness and enthusiasm with which the people of the Punjab have welcomed the idea. The University of Calcutta is, for various reasons, unsuited to the wants of this province. Firstly, its distance is too great, and the area over which its affiliated institutions extend too vast and varied to admit of its exercising the influence which would be exercised by a University located at Lahore. Secondly, were the Calcutta University more accessible than it is, it would still, in the opinion of the European and Native promoters of the present movement, be unsuited to the requirements of the Punjab, insisting, as it does, on a considerable knowledge of the English language as a *sine quâ non* for matriculation and the obtaining of degrees, and affording by its course of study little encouragement to the cultivation of the Oriental classics, and none to the formation of a modern vernacular literature. The objects of the Universities of Lahore and Calcutta are different, but not antagonistic; each may carry out successfully its proper speciality, and each may afford the other valuable assistance.

5. The University of Lahore will therefore be founded with the following aims: (a) To allow the people of this country a voice in the direction of their own education; (b) to discipline the minds of students by a course of study in their own classical languages, and of such portion of their literature as would form a natural transition to a really intelligent acceptance of modern ideas; (c) to develop in every way such originality in literature as may already exist in the country, not impeding the progress of the movement by unnecessary rules and restrictions.

6. It appears to the European Committee of Support that the best method of carrying out the first of these intentions will be by leaving the direction of the University education in the hands of a Council representing both the most liberal educational principles of Europe, as interpreted by the British Government of India and the wishes of the people of this country. The official members of the Council will thus give a guarantee to the Government for the proper expenditure of such funds as the grant-in-aid principle may afford the University; *while the Native members will prove and maintain the national and independent spirit of the move-*



*ment.* No one would be eligible to the Council who could not give his adhesion to the principles on which the University is founded.

7. The University will, as a *teaching body*, be composed of colleges in different parts of Northern India, all more or less teaching the subjects in which the University holds periodical examinations. The University, as an *examining body*, will hold examinations for conferring degrees and "sanads" for proficiency in—(1) Languages, (2) Literature, (3) Science. It will also give rewards for good, original works in the Vernacular, or good editions of standard Oriental works, or for translations from European works. It is also proposed to found fellowships of two kinds—one to be bestowed upon learned men, Natives or Europeans, who will give lectures to University students, or otherwise aid in direct University tuition; the other to Native scholars, who will devote their time to literary pursuits, and who have already given proof of their ability and industry. This second description of fellowship is the more necessary, as a man who devotes himself to Oriental literature alone cannot, as a rule, expect any employment from the Government.

8. In the examinations and the tuition of the University, "the comparative method" will be aimed at, in order to form a link between the languages, literature, and science of the East and the West. Urdu and Hindi will be the principal vehicles for *direct instruction* to the masses of the people. Arabic with Mahomedans, and Sanscrit with Hindus, will hold that place which the classical languages of Greece and Rome hold towards ourselves. *English* will give the opportunity for comparing their own language, literature, and science with our own, and its tuition will thus be rendered a really invigorating exercise for already prepared minds, not a mere word-teaching. It is felt so strongly that it would be fatal to the success of the University were its teaching, which is intended to be on the European system, to degenerate into the old Oriental method, that all examination committees will contain in their number some European of learning and influence, who will thus give a guarantee for the liberality and progressive tendencies of the institution.

9. The University will also correspond with the Oriental societies of Europe and with European philologists, and obtain aid from them in the development of Oriental learning and literature. It will also encourage the formation of literary or scientific societies in this country, and co-operate with or support those already in existence.

10. Such, in the briefest outline, are the features of the scheme. To carry it out successfully it will be necessary to obtain for the University an endowment sufficient to guarantee an annual income of Rs. 90,000, and to obtain this, with the grant-in-aid assistance, subscriptions to the amount of nine lakhs of rupees will be necessary.

11. A few words only are required in conclusion. It has been stated that the present movement is in no way intended to inaugurate a reaction hostile to the present educational system. The advantages of English are so great, as the language of the ruling class, and as a vehicle for the direct communication of modern European thought and science, that it would not only be impolitic and foolish, but fatal to the success of the new University to attempt to oppose it or limit its influence. It may, moreover, be added that the Natives of India have so keen an appreciation of the advantages they gain from a knowledge of English, that there is no fear of its study being neglected. In a financial point of view, the movement is an important one. It promises to relieve Government of much of the expense which the growing educational demands of the country entail—claims which we have created and encouraged, which we should rejoice in seeing made, and yet which we are unable, and shall still more in the future be unable, to satisfy, at the risk of appearing wanting not only in generosity, but even in justice. It must also be considered politic to associate the

natural leaders of a country—the noble, the learned, and the wealthy—in an undertaking which will invest the Government with national sympathies.

Lastly, it is not only wise, but just, to encourage the present movement. The Natives of India supply the revenues from which all educational grants are made. It is only fair to allow them some share in the direction of their own education, and to give them opportunities of cultivating the languages and literature that to them are naturally dear.

(b.) PART FULFILMENT OF THE ABOVE PLEDGES.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S DESPATCH, No. 13, DATED AUGUST 5, 1869, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

India Office, London, August 5, 1869.

*To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council.*

My Lord,—The despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated June 10, No. 9, of 1869, forwarding copy of a correspondence with the Government of the Punjab on the subject of the establishment of a University at Lahore, has been considered by me in Council.

2. In reply, I desire to express my cordial concurrence in the views stated in the letter of your lordship's despatch, dated May 22, No. 262, of 1869, on the conditions so clearly and ably set forth in that letter. I will accord my sanction to the proposition that an institution be founded at Lahore, under some such title as "University College, Lahore." The institution will be competent to grant certificates, but no degrees, and may hereafter, if attended with due success, be expanded into a University.

(Signed) ARGYLL.

3. Notification of Government of India, No. 472, dated December 8, 1869, Educational Department.

NOTIFICATION.—It is hereby notified for general information that his Excellency the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council has been pleased, in accordance with the recommendations of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and in part fulfilment of the wishes of a large number of the chiefs, nobles, and influential classes of the Punjab, to sanction the establishment at Lahore of an institution (to be styled, for the present, "Lahore University College"), the constitution and objects whereof are explained in the statutes hereunder set forth; and has further consented to contribute from the Imperial revenues towards the expenses of the institution an amount equivalent to the annual income raised from private sources, including subscriptions and interest on invested capital, up to the sum of Rs. 21,000 per annum.

*Statutes of the Punjab University College.*

I. The special objects of the Punjab University College shall be—

- (1) To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally;
- (2) To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature; and
- (3) To associate the learned and influential classes of the province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

The above are the special objects of the institution, but at the same time every encouragement will be afforded to the study of the English language and literature; and in all subjects which cannot be completely taught in the Vernacular, the English language will be regarded as the medium of examination and instruction.

II. The governing body of the institution shall consist of—

(1) A Senate, composed of—

- (a) A president, who shall be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, *ex-officio* ;
- (b) A vice-president, to be appointed by the president ;
- (c) Members appointed by the president on the ground of being eminent benefactors of the institution, original promoters of the movements in favour of its establishment, or persons distinguished for attainments in literature and science, or zeal in the cause of education ;
- (d) Such number of officers of Government as the Government may see fit to appoint as *ex officio* members ; and
- (e) Representatives appointed by those independent chiefs who have already contributed, or who may hereafter liberally contribute, to the endowment.

(2) An executive committee, or committee to be appointed by the votes of members of the Senate, under such regulations as may be prescribed.

III. The Senate shall have power—

- (1) To confer, after examination, certificates of proficiency in literature and science, under such regulations as may be framed in conformity with the principles set forth above, provided that examination for certificates be conducted by other persons than those who have been engaged in teaching all or any of the candidates for such certificates.
- (2) To expend the income at its disposal in all or any of the following ways, viz. :—
  - (a) The remuneration of Examiners ;
  - (b) The establishment of fellowships and scholarships, tenable by persons undertaking to devote themselves to the pursuit of literature and science, in such manner as to carry out the special objects of the institution ;
  - (c) The bestowal of rewards for good vernacular translations of, and compilations from, European standard works ; for original treatises, in Oriental tongues, on subjects of importance ; and works or compositions distinguished for excellence of style ;
  - (d) The establishment of a collegiate department in connection with the institution, or making pecuniary grants to other colleges conducted on a system conformable with the principles of the institution ;
  - (e) The entertainment of a registrar, and other necessary office establishments ;
  - (f) Investing funds in Government securities for the benefit of the institution ; and
  - (g) The adoption of such other measures as may be desirable or necessary for carrying out the purposes of the institution.

- (3) To frame regulations, not inconsistent with the above provisions, for carrying into effect the purposes of the institution, and from time to time to rescind, alter, and amend such regulations, provided that no regulation shall have effect unless passed by a majority of the Senate at a general meeting (convened after due notice), and confirmed by the president. In framing such regulations the following instructions shall be observed :—

- (a) In regulations made for the conduct of examinations or the conveyance of instruction, it shall be arranged that the examinations be conducted, and instruction conveyed, as far as possible, in and through the Vernacular, provided that the study of English shall form one of the most prominent features of the teaching in all the schools or colleges connected with the institution, and both teaching and examination, which cannot with advantage be carried on in the Vernacular, shall be conducted in English, and provided that in all schools or colleges connected with the institution which are now affiliated to the Calcutta University, due provision shall be made to afford instruction to students desirous of qualifying for degrees in the University of Calcutta.
  - (b) Efforts shall be made to discourage superficial scholarship by a modification of the existing system of prescribing text-books for entrance and other examinations, and substituting largely oral examination, composition, and translation; and by diminishing, as far as possible, consistently with the attainment of sound knowledge, the number of obligatory subjects for examinations.
  - (c) A thorough acquaintance with the Vernacular shall be made a necessary condition for obtaining any certificate, fellowship, or other honour, in addition to any other attainments which may be required.
  - (d) Proficiency in Arabic or Sanscrit, or such other Oriental language as may be prescribed by the governing body, combined with a thorough acquaintance with English, shall be a necessary condition for obtaining the highest honours of the institution; but provision shall be made for duly recognizing and honouring proficiency in literature and science in the case of those unacquainted with English, provided such attainments are combined with a fair acquaintance with the more important subjects of European education, such as history, geography, &c., so far as such acquaintance is obtainable through the medium of the Vernacular, and for duly recognizing and honouring proficiency in English, unaccompanied by a knowledge of Arabic or Sanscrit.
- (4) In addition to being the governing body of the Punjab University College, the Senate, as above constituted, shall be, with the educational officers of Government, the consulting body in all matters of instruction, including primary education.

(Signed)

T. H. THORNTON,  
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

In accordance with provisions of Statute II., the Honourable the Lieutenant-

Governor is pleased to appoint the following gentlemen members of Senate of Lahore University College:—

CHARLES BOULNOIS, Esq., LL.B., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab.

DAVID SIMPSON, Esq., C.S., Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab.

CHARLES ROBERT LINDSAY, Esq., C.S., Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab.

ROBERT EYLES EGERTON, Esq., C.S., Financial Commissioner.

PHILIP SANDYS MELVILL, Esq., C.S., Officiating Financial Commissioner.

CHARLES UMPHERSTON AITCHISON, Esq., C.S.

The COMMISSIONERS of LAHORE and DELHI for the time being.

COLONEL ROBERT MACLAGAN, R.E., Secretary to Government, Punjab Public Works Department.

THOMAS HENRY THORNTON, Esq., D.C.L., Secretary to Government, Punjab Civil Department.

The ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL, Punjab.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM MORELAND HOLROYD, Director of Public Instruction.

The DEPUTY-COMMISSIONERS of LAHORE and DELHI for the time being.

The PRINCIPALS of the LAHORE and DELHI COLLEGES, and of the LAHORE MEDICAL SCHOOL for the time being.

The INSPECTORS of SCHOOLS.

LEPEL HENRY GRIFFIN, Esq., C.S.

BADEN HENRY POWELL, Esq., C.S.

GOTTFLEIB WILLIAM LEITNER, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.

HENRY STUART CUNNINGHAM, Esq., M.A., Government Advocate.

SARDAR SHAMSHER SINGH, Sindhauwalia.

RAJA HARBANS SINGH.

RAJA SIR SAHIB DYAL, K.C.S.I.

NAWAB NAWAZISH ALI KHAN.

BABA KHEM SINGH.

DEWAN BAIJ NATH.

FAGIR SHAMS-UD-DIN KHAN (now deceased).

SARDAR ATTAR SINGH, Bhadouria.

AGA KALBABID KHAN, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

MUHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

AMIR CHAND, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

MUHAMMAD BURKAT ALI KHAN.

PUNDIT RADHA KISHAN.

RAI MUL SINGH.

KHAN MUHAMMAD SHAH.

MUHAMMAD JAU.

BABU NOVIN CHUNDUR RAL.

A number of other gentlemen, in addition to the highest members of the local Government and the representatives of the contributing chiefs with full powers, such as Kashmir, Patiala, Kopusthala, Nabha, Jhind, and Mundi—who, especially the three first, are also founders of the institution—also compose the Senate, which has organized faculties in arts, Oriental languages, law, medicine, and engineering, now in full operation.

## (c.) LAST ACCOUNTS OF THE SUCCESS OF THE INSTITUTION.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CERTIFICATES BY THE SENATE OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ON THE 11TH OF FEBRUARY, 1875.

The public meeting of the Senate of the Punjab University College, for the purpose of distributing certificates and prizes to the students who were successful at the various examinations held during the Session of 1874, took place, as notified, at the Lawrence Hall, Lahore, on Thursday, February 11. The Lawrence Hall had been arranged so as to place the students of the various colleges and schools in the lower half of the body of the building, the prizemen occupying the front rows. The seats, placed at right angles to the dais, on the left hand of the state chair, were reserved for members of the Senate, while those on the right were set apart for visitors. A large number of European and Native gentlemen attended, and Lady Davies and several other ladies graced the ceremony with their presence. At a quarter past twelve his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor arrived, accompanied by Dr. Thornton, Captain Morton, and Captain Cantley, A.D.C. He was received at the door by a number of members of Senate, who escorted him to the state chair. With the permission of his Honour, Captain Nisbet, member of Senate, then read the report of the Executive Committee on the progress and condition of the University College during the year 1874, and on the results of the annual examinations. The report was as follows:—

The Punjab University College was founded in 1870, under the authority of the Home and Indian Governments. The Calendar for 1874-75 contained a history of the movement which led to its establishment, and a statement of its resources, operations, and position up to the beginning of the year 1874. A very few remarks will give an idea of the progress made during that year and of the condition of the institution at the present time.

**FINANCIAL CONDITION.**—The Endowment Fund has been increased by the handsome donation of Rs. 11,700 made by the Fuller Endowment Committee, for the purpose of establishing a scholarship to be called the Fuller Exhibition. This scholarship has been founded and awarded for the first time, and regulations for giving effect to the condition of the donation are under consideration. The Endowment Fund now stands at Rs. 3,51,289-15-2. The current income for the year 1874 was—balance of 1873, Rs. 26,034; interest of endowment, Rs. 14,256; fees, subscriptions, &c., Rs. 8,591; Government grant, Rs. 24,544; miscellaneous, Rs. 780; total, Rs. 74,205. The expenditure being—on the Oriental College, Rs. 11,122; on other schools, Rs. 3,724; on scholarships, Rs. 11,820; on fellowships, Rs. 5,482; miscellaneous, Rs. 12,469; total, Rs. 44,626. The Building Fund amounts to Rs. 27,983-7-4, being a donation of the Nawab of Bhawalpur, with accumulated interest.

**OPERATIONS.**—The first Calendar of the Punjab University College was issued during the year, and in it are contained all the revised rules, regulations, and other important papers of the institution. The Senate appointed a special sub-committee for building the Senate Hall, &c. That sub-committee has passed plans and specifications, accepted tenders for construction, and has commenced work; and the building will, it is understood, be handed over to the Senate, complete in every respect, by Rai Kunliya Lal, the supervising engineer, and Mela Ram, contractor, about the beginning of January, 1876, and in time for the annual distribution of certificates for the coming year. The European Superintendent, Mr. Palmer Boyd, B.A., took over charge of the Oriental College in March, and, as the results of

the examinations prove, it has greatly increased in efficiency since that time. The whole staff of the Oriental College has been reorganized and arranged so that there is now a full and well-paid staff for each department of instruction. Classes for the study of the English language and literature have been opened, and as soon as two assistant professors, recently appointed, have joined, the working of the college will be complete in every way. The Oriental College is now capable of imparting instruction in three Oriental languages—viz., Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian—up to the standard required by each of the *nine* Oriental examinations; it teaches mathematics, history, geography, and other subjects of general knowledge (through the medium of Hindi and Urdu), and the English language and literature up to the entrance, proficiency, and high proficiency in arts standards. The building hitherto occupied by the Oriental College (Khurruk Sing's Haveli) is almost in ruins, and is uninhabitable; a most suitable building has now been hired, and the college has already moved into it. A large number of books and translations was reviewed and criticized by the Executive Committee during the year. Several standard works on logic, mental science, history, &c., have been translated into Urdu and Hindi, and will, in all probability, be printed shortly; two works published under the auspices of the University College are in the press. The library of the University College is gradually expanding, and has been catalogued and arranged. It is impossible to lay it out properly in the rooms now occupied as the Registrar's Office. Examinations were held in Arts, Oriental languages, law, and medicine (English section). For the first time in the annals of the University College the High Proficiency in Arts and Law Examinations were held. No candidates appeared for the Civil Engineering and Vernacular Medicine Examinations. The Department of Public Instruction has, however, now opened five schools to prepare students for the former examinations; they are situated at Delhi, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Lahore, and Gujerat. The Hakim and Béd class will send up some candidates for examination shortly, and it is thought that in the ensuing years examinations will be held in every department. The statistics and results of the examinations held are attached, and show that 302 students were examined in all branches, and 171 were successful. Nine meetings of the Senate were held during the year, for the disposal of business submitted by the Executive Committee, which meets weekly. Many important additions to the rules and regulations were made at these meetings, and most of those already in force were examined, and, where necessary, revised.

POSITION.—The University College grants certificates of proficiency in Arts, Oriental Languages, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering. Its Arts Examinations correspond to those of the Calcutta University, and, though conducted on somewhat different principles, are quite on a par with them as tests of knowledge and ability. They are conducted by Examiners who are altogether unconnected with the tuition of the candidates who appear at them, and who are selected by the Senate from amongst those well known to be most qualified, without reference to the province in which they may reside or the departments to which they belong. In some instances Examiners employed by the Calcutta University have also acted for the Punjab University College. The Entrance Examination is fed by the upper schools of the Department of Public Instruction, mission schools, and by one or two private schools. Students preparing for the higher examinations in arts are taught, almost entirely, at the Government Colleges at Lahore and Delhi, and at the Oriental College. The two Government Colleges are affiliated to the Calcutta University, but are also required to prepare their students for the examinations of the Punjab University College. The students themselves are induced to prepare for the Calcutta University

tests by a desire to gain its academical honours, and are, in many cases, forced to take up the examinations of our own institution in consequence of the stipends and scholarships it is enabled to offer them. The professors and teachers of these colleges are thus much hampered in their action by having to prepare men for a double course of examinations, while the students themselves are unnecessarily harassed by having to study for and pass the test of both Universities. Candidates for the Oriental examinations are prepared at the Oriental College. The examinations are in Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, and are of three grades in each language. Persons passing the higher Oriental examinations and the entrance or other arts test can at once gain employment as teachers in the Native Army Schools. Several students who have been successful at the recent examinations have already obtained employment in this way, and the Superintendent of Native Army Schools is of opinion that the demand for men of this stamp will continue to increase. The Oriental tests are very popular indeed, and are a most important feature of the University College, and are a guarantee of a fair vernacular education on subjects of general knowledge as well as a scholastic knowledge of the particular languages in which they are held. The examinations in law and medicine are now the only doors of admission to the legal and medical professions in this province; and in regard to civil engineering there can be no doubt that employment will be easily found by persons qualifying according to the regulations of that faculty.

## ABSTRACT RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS.

	No. of Candidates.					No. Passed.
<i>Arts—</i>						
Entrance ... ..	115					59
Proficiency ... ..	19					8
High Proficiency ... ..	7					3
<i>Oriental, Sanscrit—</i>						
Pragya ... ..	16					5
Visharad ... ..	14					13
Shastri ... ..	8					4
<i>„ Arabic—</i>						
Moulvi ... ..	9					6
„ Alim ... ..	7					5
„ Fazil ... ..	5					5
<i>„ Persian—</i>						
Munshi ... ..	41					24
„ Alim ... ..	10					7
„ Fazil ... ..	14					7
<i>Law—</i>						
First Examination ... ..	5					2
Final „ ... ..	11					4
<i>Medicine—</i>						
Junior Examination ... ..	8					6
Senior „ ... ..	13					13
Total ... ..	302					171
Income from Examination Fees ... ..					Rs. 2,219-	0-0
Cost of Examinations ... ..					4,190-	12-8

A translation of the report in Urdu was then read by Maulvi Mahommed Hoscin,



Assistant Professor; after which Sir Henry Davies addressed the meeting to the following effect :—

“Members of the Senate, Gentlemen and Ladies,—It gives me great pleasure to address you on the present occasion. You have had read to you the very practical report of the Executive Committee of the Punjab University—or, as it is at present called, University College—on the working of that institution during the past year. The results of the annual examinations are very satisfactory, and show a large increase of the spread of education throughout the province. For the first time since the foundation of the University College, the examinations in high proficiency in arts and in law were held, and in all departments great progress seems to have taken place. The Oriental College, maintained by the University, has much improved of late years, and the results of the examinations show that it is making steady progress. The appointment of Mr. Palmer Boyd as superintendent of this college has had much to do with this improvement. Since he took over charge the system of working the institution has been greatly altered for the better, and I may say revolutionized, for the introduction of English classes can be called little else than a revolution. This college and the Oriental examinations held by the University, for which it prepares students, are a special feature of what it was originally proposed to call the Oriental University, but which has now developed into a general University, with special Oriental branches. It is very satisfactory to know that students who qualify at the Oriental College and pass the Oriental examinations of the University College, as well as one of the general knowledge or arts tests, have an opening for employment in the Native Army Schools and elsewhere. Another matter for congratulation is the efforts which have been made by the Senate towards the publication of good translations of standard English educational works. The extension of education in the Vernacular has always been one of the primary objects of the University College, and proper instruction in the arts and sciences can only be conveyed to the people through the medium of the Vernacular when thoroughly reliable and satisfactory text-books on all subjects have been translated into Hindi and Urdu. I trust that the Director of Public Instruction will co-operate with the Senate in carrying out this important object. It gives me great pleasure to note also that in the department of Civil Engineering, the Director of Public Instruction has opened schools in five of the most important cities of the province, for preparing students for the examinations of the Punjab University College in this branch. Sufficient attention has not hitherto been paid to this practical and useful science, and there can be no doubt that the students who obtain certificates in civil engineering will find abundant scope for their knowledge and energies. I cannot conclude my remarks without alluding to a subject in which you are all, I know, much interested. The community at large, both European and Native, have long looked forward to the time when the Punjab University College should have conferred upon it the full powers, privileges, and honours of a University. In this, the fifth year of its existence that institution is found to be in a most satisfactory state. The members of the Senate have laboured hard and well to place it in a thoroughly efficient and satisfactory position. The examinations are of a standard as high as that of the Calcutta University, and the High Proficiency Examination, which is equivalent to the Calcutta B.A. test, has been held and conducted in a most satisfactory manner. The Senate has, in short, given guarantees of confidence by first keeping up a high standard of examinations, and, secondly, by employing Examiners of great repute and such as are totally unconnected with the teaching staff. I am not at present in a position to offer hopes of the immediate

fulfilment of the desire for the establishment of a University with full powers, and I do not think that the Government of India is yet prepared to grant such powers; but I feel sure that the University College will continue to do good and useful work, and that that time will come when your aspirations will be fully realized, and when the Punjab University College will be established as a University, and will be the *alma mater* of many generations of the youth of the Punjab."

At the conclusion of these remarks the Registrar proceeded to call up the students who had won certificates and prizes. His Honour himself handed the certificates to the twenty-three men who had passed the highest examinations of the University College, addressing a few appropriate words of congratulation and interest to each. The names of the students who passed the highest examinations, which are equivalent to the degree tests of the existing Universities, are as follow: Arts—High Proficiency in Arts: Mulraj, won the Fuller Exhibition, Budri Pershad, Ganeshi Lal. Arabic—Maulvi Fazl: Muhammeddin, won the Bhawalpur Scholarship, Fakhr-ud-din, Mahommed Ghazanfir, Ghulam Mustafa, Abd-ul-Jabbar. Sanscrit—Shastri: Gungadhur, Pt. Tulsiram won Raja Harbans Singh's Scholarship, Durgadatt, Atma Ram. Persian—Munshi Fazl: Fakhr-ud-din, Nutha Singh, Duni Chand, Abdul Rahim, Abdul Jabbar, Muhammeddin, Dhanput. Law—Final: Rai Baroda, Kunhya Lal, Gobind Ram, Ali Ahmed. Of these men, Mulraj and Budri Pershad have already obtained appointments as assistant professors, while Fakhr-ud-din, Muhammeddin, Pt. Tulsiram, and Ghulam Mustafa have for some time acted as teachers in the Oriental College. Most of the others have found no difficulty in making provision for themselves within the short time which has passed since the examinations were held. The certificate-holders in law are entitled to be enrolled as pleaders. The students who passed the final examination in medicine, held by the Punjab University College, are appointed assistant-surgeons. The medical examinations concluded in July, and the certificates were distributed at a special meeting held in that month.

The following are the names of the successful candidates: Subhan Ali got prizes in three different subjects—viz., in medicine, surgery, and midwifery; Jowahir Singh stood first in medical jurisprudence, and obtained a prize in that subject; Luchman Das, Kali Nath Roy, Duni Chand, Jodh Singh, Burey Khan, Mehr Chand, Munna Lal, Malik Jowala Sahai, Ramzan Buksh, Devi Ditta, and Jhanghi Ram.—(*"Indian Public Opinion," Lahore, February 16, 1875*).

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(d.) EXTRACT FROM ADDRESSES MADE BY DR. LEITNER TO THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS HELD IN LONDON, RECAPITULATING THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRESS OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY, AND APPEALING FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF SAVANS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE.

"Passing over, by a natural transition, to the educational collection, I would for a moment pause, in order to express my admiration for one of the very best and most intelligent nations which, in the course of much experience in various countries, I have ever known—I mean our most excellent fellow-subjects of India. To any appeal for a good object, if urged in a sympathetic manner, they have ever responded most nobly. Of this their princely munificence to the Punjab University College, and their steady adherence during eight years to its principles, have furnished a notable example. This, the greatest, if not the only, Oriental movement of this century, which is warmly appreciated by so many here, deserves the special recognition of the

Congress as well as its thanks to the enlightened Government which has at last invested it with official sanction. A note or resolution, expressing these sentiments, which also contains a hint for the extended publication of Oriental texts and the carrying on of archaeological and ethnological researches, will be put into the hands of the Secretary of the Section. Briefly stated, this institution, which in medicine, law, and literature, preserves Oriental learning and combines it with European methods and science, was based on the following principles:—

1. *The foundation of a National University in the Punjab*, implying the development of self-government among the Natives in all matters connected with their own education. The first step towards this end was to associate with the officers of Government in the control of popular education the donors by whose contributions the proposed University was to be founded, together with the learned men among the Natives of the province.

2. *The revival of the study of the Classical Languages of India*—viz., Arabic for the Mahomedans, and Sanscrit for the Hindus; thus showing the respect felt by enlightened Europeans for what Natives of India consider their highest and most sacred literature, without a knowledge of which it was felt that no real hold upon their minds can ever be obtained by a reformer.

3. *The bringing European Science and Education generally within the reach of the masses*. This was to be done by developing the vernaculars of India through their natural sources—the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian—and by translating works of interest or scientific value into those vernaculars.

4. *The elevation of the standard of English education to the level of the reforms which are ever being carried out in Europe, and by studying Languages, History, Philosophy, and Law, on the "Comparative Method," as adapted to the mental disposition of Mahomedans and Hindus respectively*. The University was to be not only an examining body, but also a teaching body, differing in this respect from the other three Indian Universities—those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras—which merely examine. It was also to be a centre of discussion on all subjects affecting education, and, finally—a matter of peculiar interest to us in Europe—it was to be an academy for the cultivation of archaeological and philological investigations, and for giving a helping hand to European Orientalists, whose inquiries it would advance by popularizing European Oriental learning, and bringing its critical method to bear on the literary labours of Native savans.

I must also not forget the European fellow-labourers in this direction, among whom I notice Dr. Murray Mitchell and Mr. Long to be present on this occasion. Nor should the names of the late Dr. Goldstücker in this country, and of the principal European supporters in India, Mr. Lepel Griffin, Mr. Baden Powell, Dr. T. H. Thornton, and, above all, the late Sir Donald McLeod, be omitted on this occasion. If I omit other names, it is not for want of appreciation, but merely because they do not occur to me at this moment. I hope, however, that this Congress will not be satisfied by the pleasant social intercourse which it has stimulated among Orientalists of all parts of the world, or by hearing papers read on points connected with certain special studies, but that it will give a practical direction to its efforts, by stimulating the revival of Oriental learning in the East, in supporting the note or resolution to which I have alluded. (The members present apparently thoroughly concurred in the above views enunciated by Dr. Leitner.) You will develop Oriental studies in Europe, so stagnant and unremunerative at present, to the greatest dimensions, by appreciating and encouraging the liberality and wisdom of the Native and European promoters of this important movement.

The Punjab University College, in its present infancy, has eighteen teachers in its Oriental college, three lecturers in its law school, ten professors in the affiliated Government Colleges in Arts of Lahore and Delhi, eleven professors and teachers in the admirable Lahore medical school, and a staff of fellows, scholars, and translators. It issues two critical journals in Arabic and Sanscrit, and a vernacular Medical Gazette, besides numerous other publications. For its general purposes alone, as an examining and literary body, it commands already an endowment of over 35,000*l.* and an annual income of over 4,600*l.* It seeks to adapt, rather than translate, European ideas, and uses throughout the *comparative method* which your Congress has so strongly recommended. It is in this spirit that I have written my "Philosophical Grammar of Arabic," and the "Sinin-ul-Islam" for the use of Muhammedan priests, which endeavours to show the precise position held by Muhammedan literature and history in the scheme of universal history.

## II.—A NATIVE COUNCIL FOR THE PUNJAUB.

THE following questions regarding the advisability of a Native Council for the Punjab were circulated by me, on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, to a large number of members and others whose opinion it was thought would be valuable. Each man was addressed separately. The answers received, with very few exceptions, are eminently favourable to the scheme, and certain suggestions are made which, however crude they may appear to most Europeans, deserve every consideration, and show that the subject of the inquiry and its importance are sufficiently understood by the intelligent portion of the Native population. The more important replies are printed at length, but the names of the writers it has been thought advisable, at all events for the present, not to print, in order not to affect the independence of the opinions that are given, and that are yet expected to come in. Suffice it to say, that the papers contributed emanate from Natives of distinction in different parts of the province, and that it is probable that no *official* inquiry, however ably and discreetly conducted, could have obtained an unreserved opinion on such a subject from Natives. I trust that, in the rough abstract which I have made for the perusal of Europeans, I have fairly rendered the opinions of the writers.

LAHORE, 14th April, 1869.

G. W. LEITNER,  
*President, Anjuman-i-Punjab.*

P.S.—A few copies of the "rough abstract" in question were distributed by me last year among friends of the cause in England and India. The Anjuman-i-Punjab have now decided that the inquiry into the advisability of a Native Council for the Punjab and its results be reprinted in their present form and made generally public.

LAHORE, 27th June, 1870.

G. W. LEITNER,  
*President.*

### QUESTIONS BY THE ANJUMAN-I-PUNJAB.

1.—*Is there any necessity for the establishment of a Council for the Punjab? If so, why? and what are its advantages to either the Government or the people?*

### ANSWERS.

DELHI ANJUMAN.—Members would have to be paid to give their time to such a

Council; therefore it is better that the existing Anjumans forward their opinion to Government on any Bill that may be under the consideration of the Legislature.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—As there is an Anjuman at Lahore, with a Law Branch at that station and branches in other cities, this is sufficient, unless the Government wish to derive any special assistance from such a Council, in which case its establishment is advisable.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Such a Council is absolutely necessary, as in the "Supreme Council of India" Native interests, especially of this province, are not sufficiently represented. The opinion of the people is unknown, and the Government is, to a great extent, unacquainted with their desires.

R. S. S.—A Council is most necessary in this province for legislation and the easier execution of the laws by the consent of the people.

S. N. C.—Such a Council should be in *London*, and in it ought to sit the representatives of Native States and representatives of known loyalty and ability of the different cities approved by Government.

A. L.—A Council will be very useful. It will discuss matters connected with the welfare or injury of the subjects and the Government, and represent them to Government.

M. H. A.—A Council is necessary both for the welfare of the Government and the more ready execution of laws and regulations.

N. N. A. K.—A Council which represents the people will not only carry weight with it, but also give a popular aspect to Government measures. Laws, however beneficial, are sometimes regarded with distrust, simply because the people have not been consulted; this a Council will remedy.

N. G. M. S.—People are most anxious to let the Government know their wishes, but cannot now do so. This can only be done by a Council in which their views will be considered. This will make Government more just and the people pleased.

F. S.—Every matter concerning the public welfare and general questions referring to the interests of Government ought to be *decided* by such a Council. If the Government objects, it ought to state its reasons for doing so, and allow the Council to discuss them, and after that to act on mature deliberation.

A. M. K.—Such a Council ought to be in the capital; it will be able to give immense assistance in carrying out the measures of Government, and it will submit to the Government the views of the people as expressed by their representatives.

D. B. N.—A Council is of the greatest necessity to Government and the people, because measures proposed by the one and approved by the other must meet with general approval and success. The policy of Government is to insure unanimity and co-operation between the rulers and the ruled, but this can only be done by the institution of such a Council, able and ready, because supported by the people, to give effect to beneficial measures.

M. S. M.—The great advantage of such a Council is explained in a foot-note—the great difficulty is to find good men for such a body, but it can be overcome by encouraging public assemblies, and ascertaining who are the best men available.

M. C.—The Council ought to be at the capital. It is necessary to establish such a body, as laws are now introduced on which the opinion of the people is not asked. If this were done, laws would be in accordance with the wants and usages of people; *e.g.*, an adulteress used in Sikh times to be punished, but is not now under English rule.

N. B. K.—A Council is very much required, for people have become acquainted with what is for their good; but the members ought to be God-fearing men. The

Government sometimes commits wrongs from ignorance of facts, so will the Council, if not carefully composed.

N. B. D.—The Legislative Supreme Council cannot possibly know the feelings of the whole of India. This province wants a Council, for Acts are now passed which are adverse to the interests of this province, but to which it is necessary to submit.

M. J. R.—Why should Government fetter its own action by asking for the opinion of the people? It can do now as it likes, and will ever continue to do so. On the contrary, it is much better not to ask or inquire, for inquiry can only show that the people are unable to pay, for instance, certain taxes which, however, Government consider it necessary to levy. If the public policy of this country is to be based on argument, then an argument which may be considered conclusive by the Government may not be considered equally so by the people. This would be merely creating additional difficulty in the way of carrying out measures. Of course theoretical government, based on the principle that it is instituted to attend to the welfare of the subjects, will only too gladly listen to their opinions; but as Government is, after all, only composed of fallible individuals, it is certain that they, with very few exceptions, will not tolerate interference. The British Government, however, has a desire to govern only for the benefit of the people, but it is neither respectful nor safe to offer opinion contrary to that of any of its "Hakims." It is not wise to show the people a means for expressing their views, because they may become unanimous in wanting something which is really bad. It is very much better to strengthen and improve the existing Anjumans, to establish communication between all its branches, and to cultivate the practice of saying what is right, irrespective of favour, social or religious prejudice, and personal advantage. Let each Pergana have an Anjuman composed of the most intelligent zemindars and officials; let that Anjuman report to another Anjuman to be established in each district, which again is to consult with a head Anjuman in each division. Let whatever is considered a fit matter to take up be sent to the parent Anjuman at the capital, and by it be submitted to Government. Finally, let there be a brotherhood among all members of Anjumans, and the same be secured from collapse by proper arrangements for the collection, the continuance, and the preservation of their funds.

P. N. L.—The proposal is a very good one, but it is premature—(1) because the difficulty of finding able, fearless, learned, impartial, and yet loyal representatives is almost insurmountable; (2) because Government is not likely to pay the proper respect to such a Council under present circumstances. Education in the Punjab is still in its infancy, and it will be time to canvass for a representative Council when the people become more civilized. Of course, if men who combine the stated qualifications for membership can be found now, Government will itself concede the establishment of such a body. The best thing for the present is that there should be two or three Natives sent to represent India in the British Parliament. It will be possible to find a small number of good men from the whole of India; but a long time has yet to elapse before every province, not to speak of every district, can have representatives deserving of the position.

M. K. A.—The masses of India are steeped in ignorance, and those they elect will not be much above their constituents in intellect or honesty. Several civilized countries have to deplore the power which universal suffrage gives to the vulgar, and attempts are being made to confine the right of voting to those who can intelligently use it. Besides, India has been conquered by the sword, and therefore it is inexpedient and unnecessary to deliberate on public affairs with the conquered. Let Anjumans,

Chambers of Commerce, Commercial and Industrial Associations, grow all over the country; such bodies will be better than a Council.

P. C. J.—The machinery for a Council is too cumbersome. We have already Anjumans, and we ought to make the most of them. The head Anjuman at Lahore ought to receive suggestions from "division Anjumans," those again from "district Anjumans;" and points deserving of consideration ought to be submitted, with the head Anjuman's opinion, to the Government. Why are Government Acts and Notifications not translated and widely circulated among the people whom they concern? At present the Natives are in the dark regarding the *spirit* and *policy* of British laws and government.

P. M. P.—The Anjuman is sufficient for all purposes. Well-organized and with numerous branches, it will always be a correct index to the popular feeling, whilst it can be the best interpreter to the people of beneficial Government measures. Although such bodies have no official character, their opinion, when correct, must in itself carry great weight with it. A Council is as yet premature, but it might be tried, as an experiment, to get the different Anjumans to elect members for some consultative body in, say, the Lahore and Amritsar divisions, and if this measure proves successful, to extend it to other divisions of this province.

P. R. K.—There is no other way for informing the people of what the Government want, or the Government of what the people want, than a Council. Newspapers, and the fact that Government call occasionally for the views of Natives, are very useful in their way, but they afford the people neither a sufficient means for expressing their opinion, nor a sufficient guarantee that such opinion will be listened to.

M. A.—Such a Council could best decide what things are beneficial or otherwise for the people of this province.

#### QUESTION.

2.—*Are the members to be appointed by Government or also with the consent of the people, ratified by the Government? And how is this consent, by either unanimity or majority of votes, to be arrived at?*

#### ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—There should be official members and members elected by a majority of votes of the people, as in municipal committees; these latter members to be approved by Government.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—The members should be selected by the Government only from among the highest and most competent and honest of the nobility, by the agency of Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners. At present it would be unwise to leave the election of members to the people.

R. S. S.—It is almost impossible to find good men for such a position, who will be both able and willing to devote their time to public affairs.

S. N. C.—The Anjumans are, for the present, a sufficient means for the expression of native opinion, and from them members for the London Council should be selected.

A. L.—Members to be nominated by the gentry and the public generally, and a selection from amongst those nominated to be made by the Government.

M. H. A.—Members to be appointed by the people, and to be approved by Government.

N. N. A. K.—The Deputy-Commissioner of each district should have the management of these elections. He should choose the best, the most learned and honest of the honorary magistrates or members of municipal committee or other Raisas (chiefs or gentlemen). If there are many suitable candidates, recourse should be had to

voting by drawing lots; one Hindu and one Mussulman being selected for each district.

N. G. M. S.—Members to be appointed on the unanimity or majority of the electors, who ought to be educated men belonging to the nobility.

F. S.—There ought to be two Councils—one of tradespeople, the other of Raïses; the members of the former to be paid Rs. 100 per mensem, the latter Rs. 300 per mensem. The former to be elected solely by a majority of the people—two to four for every city, of whom half are to be Hindus and the other half Muslims—the latter by the Government, and to be approved by the people.

A. M. K.—Members should be appointed by a majority of votes of the people, and to be approved by Government; the heads of the several communities should be put *au fait* of what is required of a member of Council, and the election should take place accordingly.

D. B. N.—Members to be appointed by the consent of the nobles of every city; but the opinion of officials on the election to be taken into account; election to depend on a majority of votes.

M. S. M.—The members to be elected by the people, and confirmed by Government; certainly *not to be nominated* by Government, because this would destroy their representative character, and injure their ability to give a ready and voluntary effect to public measures.

M. C.—Members to be elected by the people of the cities, for then alone can they have real influence; if appointed by Government, the election will be a mere “*hukm*” (command).

N. B. K.—The appointment of members to depend on the opinion of Government, which is also to make inquiries, both publicly and privately, into their conduct, but is not to listen to the idle reports of enemies.

N. B. D.—Members ought to be appointed by the people, and approved by Government. Written votes should be taken, and a majority should decide.

#### QUESTION.

3.—*By what means are members, representative of the different classes of the population, to be secured? How is their impartiality or their devotion to the interests of their constituents to be secured?*

#### ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—The answer to Question 3 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Anjuman in every city should inform the local member of their wishes and wants; and the greatest publicity should be given to the proceedings of the Council; the selection should be made from men of general experience and trusted honesty, and the Government should watch their proceedings.

A. L.—Members accused of partiality or dishonesty to be liable to dismissal after full inquiry.

M. H. A.—Members ought to be men who, in consequence of having landed property and enjoying a good reputation, are above being led astray by private interests.

N. N. A. K.—It is difficult to get good men. Elections ought to be made with the greatest care, and the conduct of selected members should be watched. Members who are subordinating public to their private interests should be at once dismissed.

N. G. M. S.—There is no necessity for a rule; because if care is taken to have an intelligent body of electors, they will return a representative man.



F. S.—On questions of commerce and money the opinion of the Lower House to be final; on those of policy, that of the Upper House. The Council ought to be at Lahore, and to be designated the "Punjab Council," and to appoint its own officers.

A. M. K.—The heads of the different classes of the population are to accompany the election of a member with a written and sealed document, stating that he is their representative.

D. B. N.—The members should possess a general knowledge of public and professional affairs; to be between the ages of thirty and fifty, free from any bodily defect, popular in their cities, and relied upon as men of public spirit and intelligence.

M. S. M.—Care must be taken that the member has no private aims to serve beyond representing his constituents. The mode of electing ought to be by the Deputy-Commissioner calling together the *raises* and the *chaudris* of the district, and proceeding to the election of a member of their choice.

M. C.—Only *one* member cannot represent the bigger cities; four or five members are wanted, and they should be elected by the majority of the class of the population to which they belong.

N. B. K.—Men of good family, learning, and piety ought alone to be elected.

#### QUESTION.

4.—*Are members to be appointed for a certain fixed period, or permanently?*

#### ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—The answer to Question 4 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—Members ought to be appointed for a period of not less than three years.

S. N. C.—The permanency of the appointment of members is to depend on their work, success, and popularity.

A. L.—Members to be appointed for seven or five years. In case of death or resignation, another member to be nominated.

M. H. A.—Members ought to be appointed provisionally, till, when good men are found, members can be appointed permanently.

N. N. A. K.—A member to be appointed for three years. Complaints should be investigated by the Deputy-Commissioner of the member's district, reported to Commissioner, and well inquired into.

N. G. M. S.—There is no necessity to fix a period for the appointment of a member, but after every three years the people can again be consulted about his continuance.

F. S.—The period of membership to be five years, but the Government and the people to have power to re-elect, or, in case of misconduct of a member, to dismiss him before the expiration of the period.

A. M. K.—A member to be appointed for three years; but the heads of the different classes can have the power of re-electing him.

D. B. N.—Five years to be the period for which a member be elected; the members, if they give satisfaction, to be allowed to be re-elected.

M. S. M.—A good man might object to being appointed only for a time. There is no objection to appoint a member permanently. Members will consider the fixing of a period as a sign of distrust.

M. C.—A member to be elected for two years only, and to be liable to re-election, if he again offer himself, by the consent of the majority of electors.

N. B. K.—Members ought not to be appointed permanently, for this will relieve them from the fear of responsibility. If they misbehave, they are to be displaced by the Government.

N. B. D.—Members ought to be appointed for a fixed period.

#### QUESTION.

5.—*If constituents are dissatisfied with their member, how is his removal to be effected, and on what grounds is it to be based?*

#### ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—The answer to Question 5 is developed from a consideration of the answer to Question 2.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—If the actions and opinions of a member are obviously actuated by private motives, and are in opposition to the views, customs, and, above all, interests of the people, the Government is to notice such conduct, and, if necessary, to dismiss the offending member.

A. L.—Constituents being dissatisfied, member to be unseated, after full inquiry.

M. H. A.—The removal of members ought to be vested in Government, and to depend on very mature consideration and *proof* of misconduct.

N. G. M. S.—If complaints are proved to be well founded, the offending member should be dismissed.

F. S.—The fifth question is not answered, except indirectly, in the fourth answer, but F. S. goes on to say that the Lower House ought to be composed of men selected by the different chandris (head men) of the trades, &c., who in their turn are to be elected by the people for this especial duty.

A. M. K.—Constituents to submit objections to their member to the Council; if these are proved, the Council to remove him.

D. B. N.—If the constituents are dissatisfied with a member, the Council, at their request, to appoint an independent Commission of Inquiry; if that Commission consider the complaints to be well founded, the member is to be removed; but if dissatisfaction proceeds from the ignorance or hatred of constituents, the member is to be confirmed.

M. S. M.—If the people are dissatisfied with their representative, they ought to be able to get rid of him; care, however, must be taken that the dismissal is not based on frivolous and unproved grounds. Complaints ought to be thoroughly investigated, and, if proved to be groundless, to be explained to complainants, and to be rejected.

M. C.—If, after a most careful inquiry, it is found that the majority of the electors have a well-founded complaint, the member ought to be dismissed, but not otherwise, as to listen to any frivolous complaint affects the independence of members, which ought to be respected.

N. B. K.—Government ought to inquire into the complaints of constituents, and if these are well founded, to act upon them as it thinks proper.

N. B. D.—The President and members of the Council ought to be able to dismiss any member against whom it is proved that he injures the public welfare.

#### QUESTION.

6.—*Are the representatives of Native States to be admitted into such a Council?*

#### ANSWERS.

GUJRANWALA ANJUMAN.—Native States have no knowledge of, or interest in, the public affairs of British India, and should only be represented by the especial wish of Government, as indeed the whole question of a Council should be left to Government.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—There is no objection to admit representatives of Native States, if they are intelligent men.

R. S. S.—Some Native States *could* not send agents or representatives, but they might, whenever required, give information on points suggested by the Council.

A. L.—Members from Native States should be admitted upon condition that they join of their own accord.

M. H. A.—If eminent and good men are found among the officials of Native States, they should be admitted.

N. N. A. K.—There is no harm in admitting members from Native States. The Council will have a salutary effect on these States by being a model for their imitation. Besides, there are commercial and other relations between these States and the British territory regarding which such a Council might be able to give useful advice.

N. G. M. S.—Members from other States should certainly be admitted.

A. M. K.—The Vakils (Agents) of Native States to be members.

D. B. N.—Native States are governed on principles very different from those which affect the subjects of Her Majesty. Representatives of these States, if really elected by the people of those States, might be admitted in "full Councils;" but envoys of the States are not required, and their rulers have not the time to come. The Council derives importance from itself, not from the accession of dignitaries.

M. S. M.—Certainly; the rulers of Native States are fellow-countrymen.

M. C.—It does not matter very much whether representatives from Native States are admitted into the Council or not; their policy and system of government are not based on the same principles as ours.

N. B. K.—Native States, with full powers, ought certainly not to be represented, for they do not consider injustice to be reprehensible, as they practise it themselves. Besides, they will care little for the resolutions and advice of Government.

N. B. D.—All Native States connected with Government should certainly be represented.

#### REMARKS.

SIALKOT ANJUMAN.—There are very few men in the province who have the means and public spirit to devote their time to such a Council. A Council at Lahore might, perhaps, be able to do it. Local Councils would be little better than the existing panchayets (assembly of the heads of a village, trade, &c.), which are of little use.

N. N. A. K.—The Government is, no doubt, very wise in all it does; but the fact remains that it is a stranger to many of the feelings and wants of the people.

F. S.—The funds for the salaries of the members of Council should be taken from the respective municipal funds, or an increase in municipal taxes should be made. The members of Council ought to be recognized and honoured by Government.

D. B. N.—The Council ought to be at Lahore; to be consulted on affairs affecting the province generally; from bigger cities two members of rank, wealth, ability, and learning are required. The Government to assist towards the measure becoming a success. Hitherto the people have refrained from expressing their real opinion, which results in ignorance of their wants and suspicion of the Government.

M. S. M.—A Council of this sort is of the greatest advantage in identifying the interests of rulers and subjects; laws will not be passed without obtaining first the consent of the people, and this will render their execution easy.

M. C.—Local Councils ought to be under the presidency of Native extra-assistant commissioners or tahsildars, and to be in correspondence with the Supreme Provincial Council,

N. B. K.—The difficulty in this country is the differences and hatred between sects. Mahomedans dislike Hindus, are hated in return, and both are despised by Seraogis. Sunnis hate Shihs; both dislike Wahabis, and these again object to religious innovators.

N. B. D.—What other means can there be for knowing what the people want? No law can be popular that does not receive the consent of the people. Such a Council will be a great source of strength to the Government, for it will only be too ready to give assistance, knowing that it is backed by the people.

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### *The Wants of India, and How we are to Obtain a Hearing for them.*

Paper by Lieut.-Colonel F. TYRRELL,

READ AT THE MEETING HELD ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,  
APRIL 21, 1875.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, April 21, 1875; the subject for consideration being an address delivered by Lieut.-Colonel F. Tyrrell on "The Wants of India; and How we are to Obtain a Hearing for them."

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., Chairman of the Council of the Association, occupied the chair, and among those present were Colonel Rathborne, Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, Rev. J. Long, Mr. B. Borrah, Mr. P. S. Bose, the Archdeacon of Winchester, Mr. Basil Hall, Major Evans Bell, Mr. W. Martin, General Richardson, Mr. J. Jones, Dr. A. Burn, Mr. R. Moorkerjee, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Colonel Foulger, Mr. Mirza Peer Buksh, Mr. J. Ouchterlony, General F. C. Cotton, Mr. J. Murray, Mr. Hurrychund Chintamon, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Captain W. C. Palmer, &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, explained the object of the meeting. They all knew that the riches and the revenues of India were disproportionately small in comparison with the area of that immense empire and enormous population. How was this to be remedied? The answer could only be given by those practically acquainted with India, and having besides special opportunities of observation; and such a one they had in Colonel Tyrrell, who had spent many years of his

life in various parts of India, and who had been usefully employed in developing the resources of the country : his views were, therefore, based on practical and intimate acquaintance with the subject, and would secure the attention of the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Lieut.-Colonel TYRRELL then proceeded with his address, which was as follows:—

The opinions put forward regarding the treatment of India are various. Many zealous men are deeply interested in that country, and each one looks on his views as correct : there are, however, certain points, I think, on which all will agree.

The discussion of these subjects at the present moment is important, and when undertaken with *the sole* object of eliminating truth, cannot but be beneficial.

In the present paper I shall attempt to deal as much as possible with known facts, and shall attempt to show that India is much the same as any other country—viz., that no one panacea can be found for her cure. We shall observe some peculiarities due to her physical condition, but other circumstances on which her prosperity depends are common to all nations and are comprised in accepted principles. Some men advocate railways even to the expenditure of one hundred millions, others call for manufactures, others are all for agriculture ; but we must not depend wholly either on railways, or manufactures, or on agriculture.

It is, moreover, necessary that we carefully study the country and its inhabitants before we expend vast sums in any one way. This has been our failing heretofore. We have spent vast sums of money in railways—as if railways were all in all. We must, first of all, remove from our view the interests of Great Britain, and then we shall not find it so difficult to discover the right course.

If we allow ourselves to consider rightly and patiently the various bearings and conditions of the question solely as regards India, it will simplify matters considerably. Now, I put the wants of India in the following order:—

Firstly, Agriculture connected with Irrigation.

Secondly, Manufactures and Mines.

Thirdly, Canals and Railways.

Firstly, I think it will be allowed by all that food is the chief necessity of man, and that that food should be ready at hand, and *certain* ; also that it should be in sufficient quantities, and of good quality. *That* you can only secure to the inhabitants of India by irrigation and storage

of water over the breadth of land—not so much by vast imperial works as by thousands of small works, wherever the population demands them. In fact, we have to carry out what the Natives commenced—store water in tanks and extend their system.

Consider any country covered entirely by an agricultural population; if from want of rain, or from any other cause, the crops fail, food is lost. Look again, on the contrary, on a purely manufacturing country. No crops, to speak of, are raised. It is immaterial whether it rains or snows, whether it is hot or cold; *provision* is made to provide *certain* food from *other* countries. You have, in most countries, agricultural districts and manufacturing districts; in India, you may say, as yet *only agricultural*.

In a manufacturing district, where rich and costly materials are manufactured, you build railways to bring your food and take your merchandize, and carry here and there your money-getting artisans. What does reason point out as the proper course in an agricultural country? Why, that every means should be used to secure your crops, and produce the best crops; if water is the one thing wanting to *secure* them, then secure *that water at all risks*.

Have we done this? This is one peculiarity of India, that her people are agricultural, and depend for their food upon a certain supply of water, which usually comes at certain and fixed periods of time. In all other respects her development must depend upon the same causes that regulate other countries, excepting only variations that are due to ethical and physical peculiarities. India does not require food to be moved for her consumption; if you secure it to her by tanks, all you have then to do would be to remove surplus food and other raw materials.

And here it is, perhaps, as well that I should point out concisely what, in my humble opinion, would be the most paying, and at the same time the most beneficial, method of treating India at once under our present circumstances and the condition in which we have placed her by our expensive railways.

You have the railways constructed that do not pay; you have vast populations requiring food which can only be assured to them by water. Stop all further railway construction; expend for the present all available funds for storing water by repairing old tanks and building others, and leading off channels from new tanks in the high valleys. You will then have obtained the first grand point,—certain food; you will then have much more grain for export. Let these numerous channels, passing by every village, be made serviceable as transport feeders to our main lines of water communication and drainage, such as the Ganges, Jumna, &c. Grain and mining material could pass

down these channels to the main arteries in wicker boats common to the country, or boats made of plate-iron in sections, to be returned by railway to the nearest point homeward, whence they might be towed up empty.

This would greatly simplify and cheapen the cost of carriage of grain and raw material. Nothing, I may here remark, can possibly *materially* affect our railway system until we produce the necessary conditions—*i.e.*, by the establishment of manufactures that shall produce material valuable in inverse proportion to their bulk, and shall cause the centralization in various centres of a population of artisans rich in high wages, and endowed with the curiosity and intelligence of a manufacturing people.

I have myself worked as a labourer, and have lived among, and associated with, the labouring class—carpenters, fitters, moulders, and miners. There is a wonderful love of travel amongst them—love for excursion, love for looking at shows and exhibitions; and the higher the class of manufacture on which they are employed, the greater is their love for sight-seeing, and more especially of art exhibitions.

Secondly, it will be admitted that if raw material can be converted on the spot into a manufactured article, it is advantageous to the producer of raw material and to the manufacturer, to the country and to the traffic.

Let us take, for instance, flax-seed, or linseed, as it is called. The cost of carriage of linseed is very considerable as regards its bulk, and the rate low; that same seed made into oil would be carried for less, and its bulk reduced to one-twentieth. Large quantities of this seed are exported from Bombay, chiefly grown in Nagpoor and Berar. Let us consider the difference of cost, &c. :—

The produce of one acre would be 560 lbs. of good seed.

This would be worth ..... £2 5 0

The cost to Bombay, say 400 miles, at 1d. per ton per  
mile ..... 0 8 4

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£2 13 4

560 lbs. of seed would yield, say, 140 lbs. of oil, worth... £2 0 0

Cost per mile, 3d. per ton..... 0 7 6

2½ cwt. of oil-cake sold on the spot..... 1 0 0

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£3 7 6

Thus the producer would have the advantage of the near market. The

oil manufacturer could move the oil cheaper than the raw material could be moved, and he returns to the country food for cattle in the shape of oil-cake, and makes his profit.

The price of linseed would, moreover, be less than I have put down, on the spot in India. The agriculturist selling it direct to the manufacturer close to his door, could afford to sell it much cheaper, as it weighs heavier shortly after being thrashed out, and is more fitted for oil-making.

There is no greater advantage to an agriculturist than to have a ready market at his door. The same may be said of many natural products of India, such as jute, hemp, cotton, &c. All would bring more wealth to India in a manufactured form. It will also *not* be contended against that for these manufactures *coal* is necessary, and iron is necessary. You have both in superabundant quantities in very many parts of India. Then, I say, in order to have your manufactures and your coal mines in working order, you must have your canals. Then, and not till then, will your railways pay; when you have large centres of manufacturing population rich in costly marketable goods, and rich in the receipt of high wages. *It cannot be otherwise.* An agricultural population, comparatively poor, scattered in villages, by caste and inclination a non-travelling population, have little capital or ready money, or what they have is in the soil.

Another serious point for consideration is the following. It is a well-known fact that in many parts of India the ryot is entirely in the hands of the zemindars, or of the bunniahs, or shopkeepers. The same thing happens all over the world: the ignorant man is a victim to the knowing man. If the cultivator is under the zemindar, he labours for him, and makes money for him; if he holds the farm in his own right, he is too often the victim of the bunniah, who advances money to a man often totally unacquainted with accounts, for food for himself and bullocks (called Pote), and for seed; out of that debt he seldom comes. If we are to do any good in India—if the irrigation, storage of water, manufactures, mines, and canals, are to go on,—the Government of India (whatever and wherever it may be) must first decide the question, who is to pay—the zemindar or the ryot? If the zemindar is proprietor, make him pay; if the ryot, free him from the zemindar. It is too broad a question to enter into now, but one thing is certain, that *now* neither the zemindar or soukar (or native banker), nor the bunniah (or shopkeeper) pay their fair share of the profit that they reap from Imperial outlay on the land, on the rivers, or on the general administration of government. As long as the zemindar is allowed to rack-rent the ryot, and is not bound to keep up police, or roads, or irrigation, not



only can no improvements take place, but no financial position in the world can stand it. As a landed proprietor in Ireland, I have to pay very heavily towards the maintenance of roads, police, &c. In 1873 it was 3s. 1d. in the pound on the Poor-law valuation, which valuation, in my case, was about 1l. per acre. True, you have met with opposition to the Income-tax. Is it to be wondered at, since it is imposed by a handful of foreigners? Make the Government patriotic, and you will find less difficulty.

Let us now return to our first consideration—agriculture, and see how we really stand regarding it. There is a very large area in India fit for cultivation; considering the extent of the country, comparatively more extensive than many others. This, in a great measure, is due to the contours of the country. The chief part of India consists of extensive plateaux, and the soil is generally good—in fact, I may say remarkably so; and this, in many instances, is to be accounted for by the disintegration of primary rocks. Whether that rapid disintegration is due to the climate or to the original chemical condition of the rocks, I am not prepared to say; but the fact remains. For example, in the Bellary district we find between the Huggry river and Ramandroog range, southward towards Mysore and westward towards Hurrhyhur, great areas of red soil, composed chiefly of decomposed gneiss and granite.

In the Berar valley you have, on the other hand, and over Nagpoor and Hyderabad, a vast area of decomposed trap; this area is immense, extending over 300,000 square miles, with few exceptions of black soil. Let us now ascertain as well as we may what is the present state of our cultivation, and what it might be. India comprises 1,500,000 square miles, and we may put the population at 240,000,000. The *available* acreage for cultivation is more than 500,000,000 of acres. This gives more than two acres to each individual. Now, the yield of an acre may be put down at—

			Lbs.	Lbs.
Wheat .....	a dry crop .....	2,200	to	3,200
Dhall .....	„ .....	2,000	„	2,500
Rice.....	a wet crop .....	1,200	„	1,600
Jowaree .....	a dry crop .....	1,600	„	2,200
Bagree.....	„ .....	1,500	„	2,000

Average, taking the lesser quantity..... 8,500

1,700 per acre.

All these crops are from dry cultivation, with the exception of rice.

The average allowed is low; the dry crops would be very considerably increased by irrigation, and in many localities two crops can be raised in the year. Now, allowing that every individual—*i.e.*, man, woman, and child—of the 240,000,000 consumed 700 lbs. in the year, or nearly 2 lbs. a-day, we should still have over for each man, woman, and child, 2,700 lbs. from the two acres, or 2,700 lbs. for exportation for every individual, or about 280,000,000 of tons. I merely make this comparison to show what could be raised, and what an immense margin we have, and how deplorably small the actually cultivated area is.

Let us look at facts. As I said before, there are 1,500,000 square miles in India, and I reckoned half of this as being capable of being brought under cultivation. *That*, you must bear in mind, by no means shows the power of the country for raising food, for the steep mountain-sides covered with grass, the ravines and stony plains, and vast tracts of swampy or rough land, will raise cattle, sheep, goats, &c.; but we have more than half the area of the country available for cultivation. Here, thanks to our excellent surveys of India, we are at no loss to state the exact quantities of land we may depend upon.

Taking the official return of 1871-72—Blue-book, No. 172, "The Moral and Material Progress of India,"—we have in the

*North-west Provinces.*

Area. Miles.		Cultivated. Miles.		Culturable. Miles.		Total. Miles.	
80,901	.....	38,141	.....	12,253	.....	50,394— $\frac{5}{8}$	of area.

*Oude.*

23,973	.....	12,673	.....	5,588	.....	18,261— $\frac{3}{4}$	„ „
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*Punjab.*

101,752	.....	32,706	.....	22,433	.....	55,139—10-19	„
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*Central Provinces.*

84,161	.....	23,490	.....	27,910	.....	51,400—8-13	„
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Or about 13-22 of the whole area.

This would give a larger quantity by a good deal than I allowed, or more than 280,000,000 of tons for export, after allowing about 2 lbs. of food per diem to each individual.

Let us now see what surplus we *actually* do get hold of, as shown in our export returns; it is lamentably small. Under the head Grains, we find only 897,419 tons for the whole exports of 1871-72. We have in all—

	Tons.	Value.
Coffee .....	15,370	£1,380,409
Cotton, Raw .....	361,181	21,272,430
Indigo .....	5,770	3,705,475
Jute .....	306,690	4,117,308
Opium .....	—	13,365,228
Seeds .....	253,950	2,728,127
Tea .....	8,000	1,482,185
Grains, of sorts .....	897,419	4,865,748
	<hr/> 1,848,380	<hr/> £52,916,910

The weight of the opium I do not know. We may call it 2,000,000 of tons derivable from the soil. Of the value, one-fourth is derivable from opium. This would give us 2s. an acre on the whole acreage, cultivated and culturable, of India; or without opium, 1s. 6d.

If we take the exports only that afford food to the human race, we find—

	Tons.	Value.
Coffee .....	15,370	£1,380,409
Tea .....	8,000	1,482,185
Grains .....	897,419	4,865,748
	<hr/> 920,789	<hr/> £7,728,332

Or (allowing half a ton to be raised per acre throughout) the produce of only 1,850,000 acres. From the other exports—such as cotton, opium, &c.—we have 1,227,591 tons; and allowing one-tenth of a ton only, or 224 lbs., as grown on the average between cotton, seeds, jute, and opium, per acre, we should only have the yield of 12,000,000 acres, and, adding the acreage of the food exports, it gives together 14,000,000; and adding 120,000,000 acres as sufficient for the food of the population, we have 134,000,000 of acres actually under cultivation, out of a possible 589,000,000—leaving a margin of 455,000,000. Again, let us consider how the acreage compares with the adult agricultural population. The accurate number of acres available is 589,000,000. We can afford to throw off the odd 89,000,000; let us call it 500,000,000.

The population, say .....	240,000,000
Allowing for females .....	120,000,000
	<hr/>
Leaves .....	120,000,000
Allowing for male children and old men .....	70,000,000
	<hr/>
	50,000,000

And allowing 25 per cent. to be agriculturists, as stated by Mr. Elliot, we

have 12,500,000, or one agriculturist to every forty acres,—not an excessively large allowance; or, for the area really under cultivation, less than eleven acres per man. When you come to consider that very large areas are necessary to get any quantity of opium, of cotton, or of indigo, the number of acres per agriculturist is very small.

If steam cultivation were introduced into India, I believe a most profitable business might be made of it. The country is particularly suited for steam cultivation; in almost every part of the country it could be used. In Mysore, in Berar, Bellary, Ganges Valley, and Nagpoor, large areas might be brought under cultivation by its means. I have shown what an immense field lies before us in the way of cultivation, but irrigation alone would nearly double the present crops of un-irrigated ground.

I will now, while I am on the subject of cultivation, shortly mention the breeding of stock—a subject too much neglected in India, and as yet never attempted systematically. Horses in the immense plains of Raipoor could be cheaply bred. The Sherveroy, Neilgherry, Raman-droog, Satpoora, and Western Ghauts, are all suited for raising cattle, and there is unlimited pasture. On the Satpoora range, and in Orissa, there are a wild breed of cattle called, wrongly, Bison; they are the true Aurochs of Europe. I have shot a cow on the first-named hills 18 hands high; these might, if crossed, improve our tame breeds. The use of cattle, however, for the plough will, in time, give place to the horse and steam-engine; and cattle, as food, will not be largely required in India. It would be well to introduce some fine wool-bearing animal that should utilize the fine pastures of India, and also furnish material to one of the indigenous manufactures of India.

However, before we attempt any of these more civilized improvements, before we attempt to increase exports, our first duty is to secure the country against famine, and to secure abundant and cheap food to the populations. I would again reiterate my opinion, that vast and costly imperial schemes, however necessary they may *hereafter* become, are not now the first consideration. Our duty is to secure *life*. There are tanks all over the country, some of immense size, all repairable, most of them capable of large increase. Where tanks are not and cannot be formed, we must make anicuts, temporary or permanent, and lead off channels to the thirsting land. We must systematically store water on the higher ground to enable us to keep a supply in bad seasons, and water the higher levels. Our first duty is to undertake such works where the population is dense and requires them, and also on the confines of populous districts, where the population is spreading; but we need not, I repeat, undertake immense imperial schemes to bring into

cultivation hitherto uncultivated tracks until we have secured certain food to the people at their doors, and brought again into cultivation formerly cultivated areas.

The expense would not be great, the completion of such repairs and the extension of such works would be spread over a short interval of time, and the return would be proportionally quick. There is one particular part of India that I would here draw attention to (as it offers a fine field for a commencement)—the large track of country east of Nagpoor, and east of the Weingunga. The Weingunga, in the plains of Nagpoor, runs in a deep bed, and is not easily made available for irrigation; but nearer its sources, where it leaves the high land of Central India to the north, channels might be led off, that should supply the whole of that magnificent country with a never-failing store of water; from the Sarpun, near Kamptee, as far as Chicholee, the whole country could be supplied by tanks. All over this beautiful country there are at present shallow tanks and wells dependent upon them, but the supply is precarious. It has been my fate to visit and reside in many parts of India afflicted with cholera, but I have never seen it so bad as in that district. It is never entirely absent. Attention has more than once been drawn to this country by Sir Richard Temple in his reports in 1861-62, and again in his report on a projected tramway in 1864. This beautiful tract is simply destroyed because the tanks, of which there are great numbers, are all in ruins. Some of these tanks are very large—one to the north of the Eastern Road, near the Bag-nuddee, about ten miles in circumference; but large tanks in ruins are to be found all over the country, and there are many sites where tanks could be formed, where cultivation formerly flourished. Water taken from the Weingunga, Sarpun, and other rivers, would insure a never-failing supply to the tanks, as they take their rise in the high land of Central India, that receives both the S.W. and N.E. monsoons. There is no more promising country, and plenty of old tanks to practise on. This portion of the country also deserves much closer inspection, as I am of opinion that the whole of this vast territory, from West Berar, through Nagpoor, to the east of Chuttesghur, from the high lands to the north, to Hyderabad, nearly in the Deccan, will be found to contain coal; to the westward, it has been overlaid by vast sheets of trap; to the eastward, by immense outpours of laterite.

Here we have, as yet, not laid out to our loss any money for railways, although one is *threatened* to Raipoor. It would be a good province, a virgin province, on which to try canals, with storage of water. A thorough organization of our tank system, and a thorough repairing and remodelling of the same, together with a careful and systematic exploration of neglected districts, would secure India against the dire

calamity of famine, and enable us to proceed with our second great want, the want of manufactures and mines—I should say mines and manufactures, for we cannot have manufactures until we have cheap coal, and cheap iron, and cheap machinery. To carry out our second programme also successfully, we must start our third at the same time: for the successful removal of coal and mining material at remunerative rates, we must have water communication. Coal must be used for our steamboats and our ironworks, and it will become daily more necessary. At first starting, it will be difficult to supply our blast and other furnaces; every ton of iron smelted will consume two and a-half tons of coal. To move the iron made, to carry to their destination engines, machinery, and coal to work that machinery, we must have canals. The working of iron mines and coal mines, of itself, is not a very difficult question, and can be easily acquired by the Natives; the question all depends on whether they will pay or not, and that must rest with Government. With suitable and liberal terms, in order to initiate the undertaking on a suitable scale, there can be no doubt, with the present price of iron and coal in England, that they must pay; it is for our advantage that they should pay.

Other manufactures will doubtless require more time and a more careful study of economic labour to work them profitably. Our native friends have still much to learn in the economic use of labour on a large scale; but as far as ability, perseverance, and patience go, they will soon excel us in many of our home industries. The production of cotton, silk, and linen fabrics in India is a promising speculation, as also of the finer description of woollen fabrics.

But now let us see how we stand with reference to manufactures. The manufactures of India, as they are at the present time, are in a very unsatisfactory state. Considering the length of time that we have held the country, it is a great disgrace to us that we should not have developed that which fosters so much the welfare of the people. Our treatment of India has, in many respects, been like our former treatment of Ireland in regard to the linen trade.

The Blue-book, No. 172, for the year 1871-72, gives us some notion how very small these manufactures are; they consist of the following:—

The cotton manufactures of Bombay are not valued,	
but they will not be more than .....	£2,000,000
The Punjab cotton manufactures.....	1,800,000
The Mysore manufactures.....	64,000
The manufacture of Gunny Bags .....	180,000
Sugar .....	400,000
Wool and Silk .....	3,000,000
Total.....	£7,444,000

If we, then, add about 2,500,000*l.* for the Kincobs, coarse cloths, and brass vessels manufactured in various parts, we shall have 10,000,000*l.* as the value of all Indian manufactures. The value of English cotton manufactures imported into Calcutta alone is estimated at 10,000,000*l.* Why is this? I believe the true explanation to be this. The natural proclivities of the Natives were agricultural, *and are agricultural*. The Natives of India, before they knew of Asiatic hordes, or French and English civilization, lived entirely by agriculture; that is written on the face of their country plainer than any page of any written history could tell us, by 90,000 tanks. The simple cloth and turban was woven by village hands; the ornaments that adorned their wives were made by the village goldsmith. Large centres of industry they *had none*, and they have scarcely any now. It is often said—nay, is constantly being repeated—that India is a poor country. She is *not* naturally a poor country; India contains immense wealth. It is, *I say*, our fault and our neglect that has allowed India to remain as she is, and it is our handling of her interests that has left her so poor. What constitutes the riches of a country? Population! You have in India a vast population—a quiet, inoffensive people, with quick brains and ready hands—a docile, patient, frugal, and temperate people, able and willing to work. You have unlimited land and surprising fertility, if you will only use that which God has given in abundance—*water*. The population of India exceeds, in many districts, that of most countries; the habits of the people are most primitive. Allow me to describe an agriculturist's family. Let us look at Rajoo, the agriculturist, as he appears at home; we shall then see how utterly foreign the idea of railways was, and how unsuited to the present condition of the country. The slight-limbed agriculturist of India wears, generally, a simple cotton cloth round his loins, and a small cloth twisted round his head, called a puggree—total value about 2*s.*; his house consists, probably, of one room and a verandah, the walls made of mud, the roof of jungle wood, thatched with rice straw, or jungle grass, or palmyra leaves; himself the engineer, architect, and labourer; his bed a mat. Let me introduce you to Rajoo at dinner. I can do so here, but I could not do so *in fact*, as Mr. Rajoo, being a Hindu, would not like the introduction of a pariah, or a person without caste, to come near him at meal-time; we may, however, take a far-off look at him. Mrs. Rajoo has brought his dinner; it is contained in an earthen black pot; his plate before him is made from the leaves of the wild custard apple, sewn, or rather stuck, together by the stalks; the black pot contains boiled rice, with which he eats a little curry stuff, and perhaps a seasoning of some simple salt vegetables; his wife sits patiently behind him until he has done,—she may not eat with him.

If Rajoo, by the blessing of God, has a lucky year, his first rush into luxury consists of half a farthing's extra allowance of ghee (clarified butter) with his food ; if he becomes rich, his extravagance takes the form of a brass pot for his drinking water, and ornaments for Mrs. Rajoo—for her nose and her ears. There is no alteration in his tailor's bill, nor does he furnish his house,—he is quite satisfied with his little hut ; it still contains only his mat, or perhaps a charpoy, or rough four-legged bed, and the walls and floor are constantly washed over with a mixture of earth and cow-dung, for the sake of cleanliness. All his wants are supplied by his village. He tickles the fields with his wooden plough until they burst forth laughing into crops ; he sleeps during the heat of the day, or smokes his village-made tobacco out of his village-made pipe, and anoints himself with village-made oil. His family has, probably, ploughed the same field for centuries—his only aspiration is that his family may continue so to do. His pleasures are few ; some sacred procession or marriage festival, or the passing of some European officer or detachment, affords amusement. This is your Indian agriculturist. There is not much foundation in him on which to build a rising structure of a costly trade ; all that he requires is food and the peace of the opium-eater. He has little of the restless activity of the beef-eating Saxon. The men who will advance India in *wealth* are pre-eminently the Parsee, then the Armenian Jew, then the Bengal traders and Mussulman merchants ; the men who will advance India intellectually are pre-eminently *the Hindus*.

Mr. Elliot is quite right in saying we want manufactures ; but we have not, I regret to say, the magician's art, and we cannot with the wave of a wand turn agriculturists into manufacturers. We have, however, the nuclei of many native industries that might, with fostering care, expand ; such are the silk, cotton, and jute manufactures.

From the Himalayan mountains to Cape Comorin, we have as fair a land as can be seen anywhere ; wherever water is stored, wherever water is led, from river or from brook, the richest and most abundant crops spring up. Every one who knows India knows that anything will grow as long as water is supplied, and I have shown that we should have no difficulty in increasing cultivation to any extent, if it should be rendered possible and profitable and certain by the storage of water. Your land is there, and your cultivators are there.

It is true, perfectly true, that a vast scattered population of poor and small landowners will not support expensive railways or extravagant Public Works departments. An agricultural people, however, kept in the state most congenial and most suited to their tastes and wants, will be most peaceable ; they will require no great standing army, and they will



pay to the Government the largest and most legitimate tax for India. If only half the available acreage were taken up, or 250,000,000 of acres, at 5s. an acre, we should have a return of 65,000,000*l.* from the land-tax alone, or considerably more than the whole of the present income.

If we look solely at India with a view to the benefit of India's people, our duty is marked out *distinctly* for us,—namely, to secure what cultivation we have by storage of water, and extend our cultivation by means of irrigation wherever there is any population to avail themselves of it. There will be more and more surplus produce to move, and it would have been better for us had we canals to move it; but, I repeat again, our first duty is to secure the population of India against famine, and to extend the natural occupation of the people as much as possible by means of water. Have we done ourselves any good, even in the least degree, by deviating from the moral path of rectitude? We can no more move in opposition to the moral laws than we can to physical laws, without reaping the results. We sought to pour wealth into England by selling her manufactured goods, her cotton and her iron, and we neglected the country left by Providence in our charge. Has the nation been the better for it? I opine not. Nay, does not certain retribution threaten us, unless we turn round now and do what we should have done at first—seek the true interest of our ward? We are in debt 105,000,000*l.* How as to finance? Let opium fail, and we lose one-fifth of our revenue; let there be another famine, and we shall lose one-tenth, or one-fifth, or the whole. Let Russia threaten to seize our street-door, the Khyber and Bolan Pass, we should have to double our debt. How, then, do I ask, have we helped ourselves by our selfish policy? The welfare of India is our welfare, and the sooner we learn this and act up to it, the better for us. After we have accomplished the works necessary for India's safety, we may easily discern the most profitable form of development that India is likely to assume, and, at any rate, we cannot go wrong in developing her natural resources—her iron and her coal.

Having secured India's first want—certain food—and while we are developing her mineral wealth, we may glance at our own wants. We have 5,300 miles of railway, a burden on the country. The expenditure on those railways might be considerably reduced—directly, by working Indian coal and using Indian iron, by the more careful working of goods trains over long distances, and by the reduction of unnecessary weights in construction; indirectly, by the establishment of manufactories of any costly fabrics and the working up of native raw material in India. But such must be the work of time. There is no prospect as yet before us of our costly railways paying. To make a railway pay, you must have not only a large and rich population willing to travel, but you must have

manufactories producing goods of great intrinsic value for their bulk, that can bear heavy rates, and by their manufacture produce the well-to-do travelling population; therefore it is that we must establish manufactories before we go on with railways. But to move our iron and coal, and our bulky grain, we want canals. To sum up, our wants are: First, water stored and channels led all over the country for irrigation, before any vast imperial schemes; secondly and thirdly, to open up the iron and coal mines and the formation of canals at the same time. On these we may expend all our energies. There is no difficulty: no immense surveys and plans are necessary—no new inventions. We simply want to apply ourselves to the very first and most simple principles of advancing any country—viz., to secure her food, and work her mineral wealth skilfully and cheaply; that is all. Men can no more set aside the laws of nature in dealing with a country than they can in private life. If you banish water from your house and cease to drink it, you will die: if you do not keep the soil of India supplied with water, the Native will die, as he is dying now. For Heaven's sake, then, let us cease to produce such expensive luxuries as railways until we can do so with honour. Let us cease also to draw 10,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.* a-year from India for our own pockets. But now, gentlemen, I come to the main point of this paper,—how are we to get a fair hearing for these wants of India? how are we to obtain a careful consideration of the policy that shall rule our Eastern dominions?

This Association has been established for the most excellent purpose of bringing before the British public and the British Parliament the wants, grievances, and wishes of India.

Gentlemen, I am afraid that we raise our voices to very little purpose. In the country I live in, in Ireland, the people are complaining of the treatment they receive from the British Parliament. In that Parliament they have their members—in that country British members of Parliament live and travel; yet they complain. How much more should the Native of India complain! There is not a single voice of her many millions to utter its dissent against our selfish policy; not a man amongst them is able to stand up in any governmental public assembly and question the right by which ten millions of money go yearly to England from India, nor question why India's coal and India's iron lie useless, while England's coal and England's iron are poured into the land. We might have used Indian iron, and at the same time have done our duty towards India—we might have given Manchester all the cotton she demanded, and have put the great fertile plains of India in a state to have produced tenfold—aye, a hundredfold—what she does; but we *did not*! Why did we not do that which every man who knows India is

fully aware of—viz., that water will produce anything, will create the most luxuriant abundance. The reason is, because India was entirely ruled by European ideas, because we failed to study the conditions of the country and her people, because we had no Native thought in her councils; and, with the lust of gain before us, nothing could be too quick to bring us cotton—nothing too expensive to hasten Manchester goods into the interior. If a man works amidst machinery without his brain, he will be maimed or killed: we worked in India without our brains, blinded by lust of gain, and our moral hands are maimed—we have no sound financial basis to act upon. We must now go back to first principles, and do that which we ought to have done at first—study the physical condition of the country, and the ethical condition of the people.

God forbid that I should represent our great country in blacker colours than she deserves, but I must, of a truth, say that our treatment of India has hitherto been entirely mercantile. We have made our treatment of India merely a mercantile speculation, and, for the honour of Great Britain, it should cease. Has it happened because our rulers are *dishonest*? Not at all. It is because our really good and honest men are lost in a mass of over-government. I mean this,—that before any policy can be decided upon and carried into effect—say, for instance, regarding irrigation—the agreement and co-operation of a vast number of departments of Government must be secured.

There are the Local Governments and Administrations, the Public Works Department, the Council in India, the Civil Service, the Finance Minister, the Governor-General the Viceroy, the silent Home Council of India, the Secretary of State, and last, and not least, the House of Commons. Whoever would dream (in the name of all that is sane) of getting all these to agree under a century? No; but mark you the consequence,—*something* must be done; so, in the midst of all this disputing, writing of minutes, and a hot paper-war, some policy is suddenly and rashly seized upon, without a particle of reference to the country itself. No, gentlemen, I am afraid that there is no hope for India unless you can in your wisdom find some means of providing India with a truly patriotic government, and prevent our really good and honest men being ground and twisted and badgered in the Government mill until they forget with what policy they started. How, gentlemen, are we to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the ruling powers to procure for India a careful consideration of the policy that is to decide her fate? how is that policy to be decided, *shortly, decisively, and advantageously*? how is it to be carried out energetically, and rescued from the everlasting round and round in the mill of the various departments and bureaux?

I can assure you I am not an Irish Home Ruler, nor do I altogether agree with those gentlemen, but the case of India is far different. As regards India, I am for more Home rule there. I have spent the best part of my life in India, and I would fain see her prosperous and happy. If she is not both of these, we are to blame. I say that now she is neither prosperous nor happy. Her sons are dying of hunger; her sons look in vain for help—for the steady, certain help of constant industry, which they *ought* to find in the *development* of the manufactures of *their* country. We cannot expect that our great sins towards that country shall be forgiven us, that our selfish policy will cease, until we make reparation by giving India a better government, where her nobles and her councillors may find expression for the wants and aims of their countrymen. How is India to get a really honest and efficient consideration of her wants, viewed not only from a European, but from an Eastern point? That is the question I have to propose. I cannot answer it. I can only move a resolution that the members of the Council of this Association should consult on the best method of obtaining for India a National Council, where the policy that affects her own affairs shall be considered; and that the Council shall appoint committees in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, to take into consideration the best means of obtaining this important object. Let us consider what is likely to be the result of any petition or memorial to Parliament. What will be the result? Why, this. The course is so well known that there is no uncertainty about it.

The petition is presented to Parliament; there will be probably (if *influentially* backed up) some discussion on the matter; it will be then referred to the Secretary of State for India, who will deliver it into the care and custody of the Home Indian Council; thence it will come out as it went in, with the expenditure, probably, of many months of delay. Those wise but silent men (silent, perhaps, because wise) will, of course, tack on to it many wise minutes, and, according to the established formula, desire more information. It will be referred to the Viceroy; the Viceroy refers it to the Council and to the several departments; *then* all these various reports of all these heads of departments—the councillors, the governors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, &c.—will be collected together, and the whole matter, moving upwards, will pass again through the fiery furnace until it again comes to the House of Commons; it will be brought forward, in a neat speech, in the time of our great-grandchildren, when, probably, it will again commence the same round: so it may go on. It requires more political knowledge than I possess to suggest any course by which any petition or memorial should have greater or quicker effect; perhaps a memorial from

the assembled Chiefs of India to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India might have the desired effect. I have no doubt that if the Maharajahs Holkar and Scindiah, and of Pultiala, &c., and such men as Sir Salar Jung and Sir Mahadeo Row were consulted, they might give material aid in bringing the matter to a satisfactory result.

If we have for so many years ruled India with so little benefit to herself—if during this long course of years our government has been a mistake as regards India,—and it cannot be denied that it has been a mistake, more particularly as to securing certain food to the population, and providing the masses with the necessities of life abundantly and cheaply; also that we have brought the country to financial insecurity, to railway debt, a heavier taxation, and constant threat of famines,—if all this be true, then I say it is time that a change was made. I do not say that it has been a mistake altogether, by no means; but allow me to point out that whenever we deal with ethics, as in education, and do not come into collision with English mercantile interests, we succeed. No one questions the necessity of education, and luckily, the question of religion was not introduced. Again, our administration of justice has made rapid progress, and in that department, mark you, we have more than in others considered Native ideas and used Native talent. But look at our finance—utterly unsecured. Again, look at our public works: nothing could have been more at variance with the real wants of the country than those palatial but insecure barracks, those costly but losing railways; nothing could so clearly point out our lamentable neglect of the physical conditions of the land or the material wants of the population; nay, our course has driven us over millions of starving wretches. Why is this? I say it is because we have not studied the country and its inhabitants, and we have not done so because we have totally ignored Native thought in deciding our policy for India; we have not put ourselves *en rapport* with the Natives. We may talk of our great British Parliament, its honest and honourable members (and they are all honourable men), but is there a man among them who, even if he care twopence for India, has the slightest chance of influencing the Secretary of State for India regarding that policy? No one can pretend to believe that the policy that directs our Indian affairs springs from Parliament: then it springs from the Minister of State for India and his Council. Gentlemen, the Indian Council is like the Eleusinian mysteries,—no one knows anything about them. But no one will for a moment suppose that the Secretary of State for India would allow another cock to crow on his own dunghill; and this remark would apply particularly to the Secretary of State for India. Then what does the Secretary of State really know about India *personally*? What does he

know of the million and a-half square miles, and its Princes, and its Chiefs, and its hundred tongues? Nothing! I have before referred to Ireland and Home Rule; I am not in favour of that agitation, but there are evils which cannot be removed without much activity, combination, and pertinacity. We as an Association cannot expect to succeed unless we really exert ourselves—unless we all put our shoulder to the wheel and agitate. You can do nothing without agitation; you cannot even make butter. I would submit, gentlemen, for your consideration whether it is likely a purer and more national policy will be followed towards India under the present form of government? If Ireland has to bend to the interests of England, how must India expect to be treated? How has she been treated? Let us look at one example—an example palpable, marked, and known now in these days to every man who has the least pretensions to any knowledge about India. That great and good man, Sir Arthur Cotton, fifty years ago recommended that which we are now driven to by dire calamity. Why was not the great want of water, so urgent, so palpable, and so easy of accomplishment, complied with? Because, I say, and we must all say, it did not coincide with England's wants. Colonel Strachey and other men who were formerly opposed to the movement, are now advocating it; but what good can that do if even now, at the eleventh hour, a system of irrigation is to be thrown among a mass of departments, like a fox among a pack of hounds, to be rent and torn to shreds, to be minuted on and reported on by all the Governors, Councillors, and Commissioners? Have we no similar case in history? Do not Spain and South America afford in some measure a parallel? Are we not trying to govern a country different in all respects to our own, at a distance which renders a real energetic government impossible? Nay, but many men will say, now that the matter is brought home to us, we will take greater care for the future. The question I would ask you is, Can there be any alteration for the better under the present complex government? I fear not; it will be, to the end, a question not of India, but of party or of Government. Vast schemes will be undertaken, not with reference to the Natives of India or each local want, but great schemes that may add lustre to, and cast a halo round, the Home Government for the time being. It sounds so well when a member of the Imperial Parliament can get up in his place and say, "We have expended a hundred millions of money in building railways in India," but he dare not say that we built them for the Indians.

I commenced with the statement that the wants of India are—1st, agriculture, connected with irrigation; 2ndly, manufactures and mines; 3rdly, canals and railways. These we cannot hope to see undertaken as

they should be unless we can, first of all, instil some more Native thought into our Indian Council ; in fact, make the government of India far more an Indian matter than it is now. At the present stage of our Indian history we have an English Government ruling in England for the English ; we want a far more powerful and national Government ruling India for the Indians. You have a vast agricultural population, and a rich and extensive soil ; you want the science and appliances (irrigation and drainage) of agriculture developed by the national powers. You have the embryo of vast manufactures in cotton, silk, jute, hemp, &c. ; they require a national care to foster them. You have an unbounded field of enterprise in Indian iron and coal-mines ; you require the *national* energy and wealth to develop them. You want canals over the land ; you want these undertaken by Native companies. We cannot—no one would—expect these matters to advance while Englishmen rule India solely for England. It is our duty, our best interest, to develop India through the national agency, but to do that we must have a national power ; we *now* have it not. In this respect, ever since 1848 to 1855, when the policy of Lord Dalhousie was allowed to have sway, we retrograded ; we diminished Native authority and centres of Native power. We have to build up again, I trust on a better and more sound foundation. In September, 1874, this Association drew the attention of the Secretary of State for India to the provisions of the 33rd Vict., cap. iii., sec. 6, which provided for the entrance of Natives of India into the Civil Service without passing the competitive examination in England : at that time this enactment had been a dead letter for three years, and it is likely to remain so. Again I say, we are ruling India for ourselves—not for the Natives. I would humbly express my opinion that one of the chief objects of this Association, if not the chief, should be, not so much agitation for the advocacy of political questions by the European portion, but that the European members of the Association should use every endeavour to promote a Native power of intellect and authority in India that shall bring to bear a national feeling on the leading questions of Indian politics. No nation can be freed but by its own people ; it is our duty to show them the way. But a nation to be free must be freed by its own intellect. Nor can the acquisition of a political life be attained by a nation in one generation, more particularly by a population that contains not only many races, but also many sects, sharply-defined castes, with strong opinions and stereotyped usages. You cannot change, as I have said before, by a wave of a wand, agriculturists into manufacturers, or subjects of Eastern despotic rule into politicians of a free State ; but we can do much to lead to that consummation. The people of India cannot learn to use their intellect

in political science unless they have a stage prepared or allowed to them whereon to act ; and therefore, I say, the chief action of this Association should be the extension of political ideas among the Natives of India, and a strenuous attempt, in combination with the leading Natives of India, to obtain more political employment for Indians in the government of their country. With the various races in India, with the various castes, with the various religions, it is a very complex question : it cuts the matter short by Britain's ruling supreme in all, and ignoring Native interference. But I trust it is apparent that, as a necessary consequence, we have failed in many serious points in doing justice to Native wants and Native claims. Materially, no doubt, the remedy for India is, as I have said, in the increase of agriculture by irrigation ; 2ndly, by establishing and extending manufactures and mines ; 3rdly, in canals and railways ; but these things you cannot do unless you can cause a different spirit to pervade India—unless you can bring to bear the Indian's trust and confidence in the Government, and the Indian intellect and Indian gold into your projects ; and this, I maintain, can only be brought about by making the Natives the architects of their country's government.

I will now merely hand in my proposition after reading it, and if it should be seconded, I trust that the Committee of this Association will take the matter in hand. My proposition is : “ That a Committee of “ the Council of the East India Association should be formed to take “ into consideration the best means of obtaining a careful consideration “ and investigation of the policy that shall direct the national affairs of “ India, and that affiliated committees shall be formed in the chief towns “ of India, to consider the best means of promoting this object ; and, with “ a view to this most desirable object, that a petition be presented to Her “ Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India, that she may be pleased “ to appoint and establish a National Council in India to consider the “ national policy.”

Since I wrote the above, I have received some extracts from the *Times of India* newspaper, of May 29, 1874, referring, curiously enough, to the very country to which I have drawn your attention—I mean the country east of Nagpoor and east of the Weingunga. Now these extracts show that the Governments in these countries are still hankering after the fatal railways, and still use the same absurd arguments. Mr. Morris, the Commissioner, says : “ There is one fact apart altogether from the “ question of financial success which I deem it my duty to lay clearly “ before Government, and that is the calamity which would overwhelm the “ land-locked Government of Chuttesghur should in any year a total “ failure of the rice crop, following on one or two bad seasons, occur over



“the whole area. In a crisis of this kind, the railway which I have been urging would be the salvation of the country, for without it no means of transport exist which could be practically effective in importing enough grain to rescue the great mass of the people from starvation. This fact was realized by me during the partial famine which prevailed in this division in 1869, and its painful importance is more than ever impressed on me now, with the facts of the Bengal famine as an obvious “warning.”

Thus speaks Mr. Morris, the Commissioner of Nagpoor. Why a railway? The country is covered over vast areas with dilapidated tanks. Make your channels, supply your water, make your crops sure, and you can make your communication afterwards. When you have secured your food, you will then be better able to judge whether a railway or canal will pay best; but it may be taken as a certain fact, that a purely agricultural and scattered population will never make a railway pay. Now, I know this country most intimately, having levelled nearly entirely across it, and there is no country that I know of where water could be more easily procured, and where a canal would be more beneficial. The proposed railway for 160 miles is *supposed* to cost 600,000*l.*; that would make 300 miles of canal, and would also send ample supplies of water to the many tanks of that beautiful district. There is no country in India that requires more careful study before any great scheme is undertaken than this country. There are known to be coal, and iron, and lead. It was formerly much irrigated by tanks, and a plentiful supply of water could be obtained from the Weingunga and Baugnuddee, from the Husdoo, Sheonath, Mahanuddee, and Jonk rivers; the four last are on the Chuttesghur plateau. Through this country can be made the great water communication across India. The Mahanuddee can be joined to the Weingunga, by the valley of the Baugnuddee; the Weingunga can be joined across the Warda river to the Poorna valley, and the Taptee to Bombay. The four large rivers—the Mahanuddee proper, the Sheonath, the Husdoo, and the Jonk—are all affluents, and form one river system, which combine in the Mahanuddee. This river (as is well known) is subject to disastrous floods. One great advantage to be gained by the formation of a large canal and the supplying of water from these rivers to the great tank system, would be the modification, in a great measure, of these floods by the withdrawal of many millions of tons of water. It is a subject far too vast and intricate to enter into here. All I can say is, that I trust that Government will not allow a railway to be built until they have carefully examined the question of a canal. The construction of proper railway bridges across the Mahanuddee, Weingunga, Sheonath, and Baugnuddee would alone cost more

than 600,000*l*. Let it be remembered that the celebrated Kanhan bridge at Kamptee cost 125,000*l*. alone.

I have myself made a section of the Weingunga river with a view to the construction of a bridge, and I speak with an intimate knowledge of the country. I trust what I have said here may cause some consideration before such a disastrous blunder is perpetrated. The railway would cost double 600,000*l*.

Finally, I cannot but express a hope that the proposed visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the future Emperor of India, may inaugurate such liberal measures towards the Natives of India that they shall in future have a really high road open to them, to acquire such positions as shall allow them to be heard in the councils of their own country. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said he observed many gentlemen present who were fully competent to speak on the question, and doubtless they would avail themselves of the present opportunity of doing so. He might say at once that Lieut.-Colonel Tyrrell's address had been a most excellent one, and eminently suggestive—(hear, hear)—and as there were gentlemen present who could speak with authority on the subject, he would be glad—and doubtless the members of the Association would also be glad—if they would give expression to their views on the subject.

Mr. J. H. STOCQUER said he thought all friends of India, and certainly the members of the East India Association, were much indebted to Colonel Tyrrell for the very instructive address he had just delivered. (Hear, hear.) His remarks regarding the necessity of water in India were self-evidently true—so much so, that it was surprising so much indifference should exist on the subject on the part of the Government, especially in view of the arguments and convincing illustrations constantly advanced by Sir Arthur Cotton. When the Indian Famine question was debated in the Room of the Society of Arts three years ago, a great deal was said about the necessity for carrying food hither and thither, and about the supply of it to the people; but hardly a syllable was said about an equally vital point—the provision of a due supply of water. Only one man ventured the suggestion that water was as essential to the maintenance of life as food, and that without it all the rest would be a failure; and he did not receive another voice in support of his views. Indeed, the people in the Hall of the Society of Arts on that occasion seemed to be suffering from a species of hydrophobia; although at that very time Sir George Campbell, with prudent foresight, was using every effort to find water by boring the land. It would be an interesting thing—and it certainly was an important thing

—to know what the Government had been doing since the Famine in the way of extending old tanks and in making new ones, in order to avoid, or at least to mitigate, the recurrence of the dreadful calamity through which that part of India had just passed. As regards Colonel Tyrrell's proposition of a National Council for India, he confessed he did not see his way to support it, for as a matter of fact there was no such thing as nationality in India. (Hear, hear.) The people love their own villages, perhaps are attached to their own particular districts, but as a nation they have no real existence, and have never been heard of in history. The great expanse of the Peninsula was inhabited by many diverse races, of different religions and habits of thought and opposing customs, and it would be exceedingly difficult to say what views they had in common; and hence, he owned, he failed to see how any approach to unanimity would be made in the discussion of affairs by a proposed "National" Council. He had always entertained the opinion that the more practical and useful way to benefit India politically was to keep members of Parliament at home fully informed on questions affecting India. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, Mr. Stocqueler, while expressing his thanks to Colonel Tyrrell for his very interesting address, said he did not go so far as to say the railways of India were of no benefit to the people. To go no further, this was evidently contradicted by the fact that they were being more and more used by the lower orders of the people, and lower and lower "classes" had to be provided for them. But while railways were eminently useful, it might be that the Government should now give more attention to the provision of transit by means of canals, and to the extension of the much-needed irrigation system. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel RATHBORNE thought the idea of a National Council for India a fallacious one, though at the same time he considered that many more Natives might be admitted in the Legislative Councils with great advantage. In respect to the views expressed by Colonel Tyrrell regarding railways, he confessed he could not participate in his depreciation of them, because it was evident that railways had the beneficial effect of opening up a country, not only in the way of facilitating the transport of merchandize and in the disposal of surplus agricultural produce, but as a means of improving the people of the country intellectually and educationally. It was not every Native who could go to England to see her civilization and her power for himself, but many could and did travel on the railways, say from the south to the north of India, and they could not do this without being in a manner educated, just as a country bumpkin in England acquires larger notions by travelling out of his own locality. As affording instruction and information, the

railways of India were not to be despised, while as material aids to commerce and civilization their utility was beyond dispute. Sir Arthur Cotton had, no doubt, done admirable work in his efforts to advance the cause of irrigation and canals, but the fact was that he rather overrode his hobby and yielded too little to railways. So far as his own experience went, a canal could not be used for transit and for irrigation concurrently, for when the water was being drained on to the land to any extent, navigation was almost necessarily suspended, or at least obstructed and delayed. In the district where he chiefly gained his experience—Scinde—this was the case with regard to the storage of water. He had listened to Colonel Tyrrell's observations with great interest, and he confessed himself completely at a loss to know why the Government (when they were told by such authorities as Sir Arthur Cotton, Colonel Tyrrell, and others, that means of irrigation were lying unused, though ready to their hand) did not move to repair and renovate the old works. That the Natives of the country had talents sufficient for the construction of works for the storage of water, was proved by the existence of aqueducts and tanks; and it was inexplicable that the Government should allow these to lie idle and useless in decay, and be unwilling to find the funds for their restoration. Were the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Westminster, or any of the other noble lords who own so large a proportion of London, to allow their property to fall into a dilapidated and ruined condition, it would immediately be asked why they should be allowed to injure the people of the neighbourhood by their neglect, and the authorities would not be long in insisting upon a restoration. It would evidently be grossly unfair that an obstructive, neglectful, and careless landlord should be allowed with impunity to injure the business and neutralize the efforts of his neighbours. Yet this was exactly what the Indian Government were doing; for they would neither do the work themselves, nor make concessions to those who were willing to undertake it. That was the whole secret of the want of water in India. He remembered, some years ago a company was organized to supply water for irrigating a district greatly needing it. The Company said, "If we construct the works, we must levy a rate upon the consumers of the water." The Government said, "No; we cannot tolerate any such course." "Well," replied the Company, "will you pay us a subsidy sufficient to yield us a moderate return on the capital employed?" "No," rejoined the Government, "we cannot do that;" and with that the Company collapsed. Similarly, an offer was made to form a road from Wynaad to the coast, stipulating that the makers should have the right to levy a small toll upon those who used the road. The Government, however, would not allow this, nor would they make the road themselves. The fact was, it was impossible for the

Government to do all the landlord's work in the country—the task was too gigantic; and the Government at home, if the universal landlord, would find the task equally impossible. The amount spent upon public works in a country of 1,500,000 square miles, and with a population of 240,000,000, was a very small proportion of what was required; and, yet, as a rule, nothing was allowed to be done by private effort. Such a system existed nowhere else in all the world, in none of the colonies. The Government, as landlord, was neglecting the estate, and should vacate a position which it could not, and which it was impossible to maintain properly. It was said that “out of evil cometh good,” and it was not impossible that great good would result to India from the recent famine in Bengal. There the Government, by the pressure of public opinion, was compelled to do what it had never really done before—step in and save the people from death by starvation—and to do what other landlords do,—put their hands in their pockets to help their tenants when a bad year came. It was only by such severe lessons as this that the Indian Government could be brought to realize the position and the grave responsibilities it involved; and perhaps they would find the position so undesirable that they would need no great inducement or pressure to vacate it, and assume a place more like that held by the Governments of other countries. At any rate, until this is done, he was convinced there could be no real and abiding success for the English administration of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. JONES said there is no doubt that manufactures are the greatest source of wealth to any nation, except, perhaps, in such places as some of the provinces of France, where the culture of the land produces a special commodity—viz., wine—which realizes a high price in other countries. Otherwise, and in the general way, agriculture leaves the occupant of the soil just where he was at the beginning of his labours. In India the manufactures of the country had been thwarted in a discreditable manner by the manufacturers of England. He noticed only the other day that the Manchester people urged the Secretary of State for India to reduce or remit altogether the import duties levied on the admission of cotton goods into India, because the cotton trade is beginning to take root in India as a manufacture, and would therefore thwart the demand that has hitherto existed for Manchester cotton goods. In looking at the question of the general prosperity of India, he was led to think that the abolition of the old East India Company's Court of Proprietors had injuriously affected the country. That Council, even in its ruins, possessed the real elements of prosperity for India, because those who composed it were largely interested in the revenues of India, and were naturally more acquainted

with the merits of every question affecting the country than the ignorant members of the House of Commons, who imagine they can undertake to deal with the questions connected with the whole of India, although, as had been recently seen, some of the most prominent members had exhibited their utter incapacity to talk about the government of the metropolis and the City of London. Some of the leaders of English society had undertaken to arrange a new form of government for London, and had most conspicuously failed; yet they were looked upon as competent to meddle with the affairs of a nation about which they are totally uninformed. That seemed to him (the speaker) a reason why the affairs of India should be taken out of the hands of the Home Parliament, and that the election of the Government of India should be entrusted to a Council composed of those who hold the canal, railway, and other stocks of India. There was nothing more ridiculous, in his opinion, than the appointment of the Duke of Argyll to the government of India. What was there in the knowledge that he possessed to fit him for such a post? A man accustomed to the shallow soil and poverty-stricken mountains of the north of Scotland, what qualification could he possess that he should have authority over the flat fat lands of India? It would have been much more reasonable if some man were selected for the office who had had opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the wants of India by actual contact with the people, and who had while in India manifested some ability. As the result of the appointment of the Duke of Argyll as Secretary of State for India, what had they found? In the Madras irrigation schemes, in which he (the speaker) had some shares, under the guarantee of 5 per cent. from the Government—Government having by its engineers authenticated the statement that a million of money would accomplish a certain result—what had occurred? The shareholders subscribed their money upon the guarantee of the dividend, and found that the million of money was absorbed without accomplishing what it had been expected to. The shareholders looked to the Government for the same support which, under similar circumstances, had been accorded to railways. In the latter case Government guarantees the requisite amount to complete the undertaking; but in the case of the Madras irrigation the Duke of Argyll put the shareholders to the severity of almost a liquidation. They were told that they might borrow money on the security of their revenues, and if they completed the works within so many years, they would be allowed to possess their property. As it happened, they were enabled to complete the works, but the spectacle was afforded of a company under a Government guarantee paying its dividend out of capital. That was the way in which an irrigation system was treated by the Duke of Argyll. Now, the elements of the success

of a country were in its manufactures, and hence manufacturing men and all striving to promote manufactures ought to be treated with respect. If the manufacturing men of England had been treated with as little respect three hundred years ago as they are at present, the people of England would have remained as poor as the people of India are at this moment. Men employed in trade in England at the present time are tabooed in society. If a man of that class, living in Brompton or any other suburb of London, has a wife or a daughter, and there is a fancy ball or a gathering of any kind at a neighbour's, neither he nor his wife nor daughter must be admitted into the society of clerks from the Government offices, or members of the military and naval or other professions. How, then, was it to be expected that a country should flourish if it put its heel on the men who are its life-blood—the manufacturers of the country? In years gone by they were countenanced with all the assiduity and general effusion of favour which the Sovereign of the land could supply. Trades were granted armorial bearings, and distinctions conferred on the chief men in trade and manufacture. The only remnant of the system was when Queen Victoria went to town to dine with the Lord Mayor. If the Marylebone Vestry were to ask the Queen to dine with them, it would be regarded as a preposterous innovation on the rules of society. But, he asked, why was it more remarkable that the Queen should be asked to dine with the Marylebone Vestry than to dine with the traders of the City of London? They are all traders together, and should be equally honoured. Therefore, in the case of India, the manufacturers of the country must be countenanced and encouraged by the Government if the country is to prosper; and as Stars, Victoria Crosses, and other marks of distinction are conferred upon the governing and military classes, so should there be honours and distinctions conferred, as incentives to progress, on the leaders in the several departments of trade and manufacture. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. ALEXANDER BURN said he had listened with much pleasure to the able paper which had been read, and which contained much valuable and suggestive information. It would be impossible to touch upon the different heads which it dealt with in the course of a brief speech; but he would offer a few remarks upon the particular head of agriculture, to which subject, during his residence in India, he had given some considerable attention. He entirely agreed with Colonel Tyrrell that one of the first duties of the Government was to encourage native agriculture in India. As a matter of fact, the people of India know very little of the real science of agriculture. Their rulers let out the land in large tracts to zemindars, who sub-let it to ryots without enforcing any practical system of agriculture. Indeed, there is no system at

all, and that fact lies at the foundation of our want of sufficient revenue in India. We cannot get enough revenue from the land without proper cultivation to pay the rent, and therefore the land should be treated according to agriculture, as a science, in order that it might be productive. The man in England who takes a farm and does not understand agriculture, very soon makes a fool of himself. The ryots in India understand but little of agriculture as a science; they understand practical agriculture thoroughly, but are continually hindered from carrying it out to the best advantage. The Hindus had a system of their own, which succeeded admirably so far as agriculture was concerned, manufactures being, of course, very limited, and only suited to their wants. In all the writings relating to India it would be found that mention is made of the system known as the village system, under which two classes of men—twelve in number, called *alouties*, and twelve called *balouties*—managed the affairs of the village as a co-operative corporation. Under this system agriculture was improved, and promoted by combined labour; but we have done away with it, and have substituted a grand revenue system of giving every man his own field. This is all very fine in theory, and on paper looks admirably just and proper; but what is the result? It is necessary that certain work in preparing the land should be done at a certain time and within a day or two, or else the crop would be lost; and under the present system the holder of a piece of land is unable to do what is requisite by himself, and is obliged to ask his neighbours to come and help him. They are not inclined to do so, being engaged in other work, and so, for want of assistance, the man fails, and only produces half a crop. The result of this is a loss to the Natives and a loss to the Government of India, when we regard raw produce as the chief source of revenue to the Government. It is not from avarice, or from a desire to restrict production on the part of the Natives, that the Government fails to get the revenue it ought to get from India, but from a misunderstanding of the proper system of agriculture. If the Government could be induced to apply to some of our leading agriculturists—for instance, to Mr. C. S. Read, M.P., and others who have enlightened views as to the nature of agriculture—they would discover that by promoting a system of small farms, instead of improving the country, they are putting it in the position that leads to ruin. The village system of India has never been properly examined into, because we have never had men competent enough to conduct that examination; and this fact cannot be too strongly pointed out. Dr. Burn felt assured that the village system was of the greatest importance to the country; it afforded the only sure, simple, and sufficient means of protecting the inhabitants, by its stores of grain, water, and fodder, from the fearful periodic famines. All the products of



India that are worth anything in England are superintended by Europeans. The factories that supply the best qualities of indigo are superintended by Europeans, and the same was formerly the case in regard to opium, from which now the principal revenue of India is derived. In regard to the latter product, he desired to state his opinion, as a medical man, in opposition to that which is frequently expressed, as to the injurious effects of opium-taking, and the alleged evils attending its cultivation. He had, while in Malwa, an opportunity of observing that vast numbers of Natives take it, and very few suffer from its use. They use opium as we use wine in England. A child has opium put into its mouth almost before it has tasted milk. Opium is a very valuable product: the Chinese, it may almost be said, live upon it; the Indian carries his pill-box in his turban, and uses it as a stimulant; and in very few instances in India is it taken to such an extent as to be injurious. In concluding, Dr. Burn said that while considerable importance is to be attached to the improvement of manufactures in India, he had great hopes of the country if her natural products are properly cultivated—a result which he believed could only be obtained under the village system, which, in his opinion, was perfection as a means of securing combination of labour.

General COTTON remarked upon what had been advanced by Colonel Rathborne as to canals not being available for both irrigation and navigation, and said that canals could be so constructed as to admit of the water being drawn off for agricultural purposes without stopping the navigation. He saw no reason why, if properly managed, canals should not be equally efficient for both purposes; it only involved a question of management. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. JEANNERET said that it appeared to him that the main object of the paper had been overlooked by the gentlemen who had preceded him in speaking. Colonel Tyrrell wished to ascertain how to obtain a hearing for the wants and claims of India; and that particular matter had been under his (the speaker's) consideration for the last forty years. As long ago as that, he was acquainted with Sir Arthur Cotton and a late Governor of Bombay, and he remembered that the latter then said, the question of obtaining a hearing for the wants of India was one that would be sure to come up at some time or other, and that if the Crown ever took possession of India as a Crown colony, from that moment the liberties of Indians would be gone. That is the case at the present time, and the endeavour to get a hearing for the claims of the Natives of India is as hopeless a task as to try to wipe up the ocean with Dame Partington's mop. It is no use to appeal to the Crown, for there is no such thing. The Queen claims prerogative, and her Ministers claim authority,

and every representation that is made is bandied about for years before any kind of decision is arrived at. Referring to the paper that had been read, the speaker expressed his satisfaction at the parallel drawn between India and Ireland, and went on to say that the whole system of government in India requires reformation, and in saying this, he spoke advisedly and from knowledge. Recommendations and suggestions of the most important character are not heeded, and personally, he could give illustration of this, and so could his friend Dr. Burn, who had been overruled by ignorant men utterly unacquainted with the subject of his suggestions.

Mr. BANERJEE referred to what had been put forward by Colonel Tyrrell and subsequent speakers in relation to the formation of a National Council. One gentleman had said it was utterly impossible that such a thing as nationality could exist in India. Now he (the speaker) desired to point out that although there might not be one united nation in India, yet there were various nationalities united by the same ties—speaking the same language, worshipping the same God, and reverencing the same traditions; and therefore, if one National Council was unsuitable, the question of establishing several Provincial Councils as consultative and deliberative assemblies might well be brought forward by the Association. If they did so, they would find that not only Indians in England, but a large number of Native patriots in India, would take the deepest possible interest in such a proposition. The argument that is advanced against the formation of such Councils is precisely the same kind of argument that is always used by the upholders of abuses against those who would reform abuses. What was the great argument used against the emancipation of the negroes in America? It was said that the balance of the American Constitution would be overturned, and America plunged into confusion and terror. The negroes were emancipated, but no such dreadful things had come to pass. The same sort of argument is used against the enfranchisement of women in England at the present time. It is feared that the balance of the British Constitution will be overturned, and all sorts of horrors are predicted to occur if the women are enfranchised. Precisely the same kind of argument was used against the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and Household Suffrage, but these things are now matters of law, and none of the fantastic and visionary predictions had come to pass. Therefore, if history taught anything, it taught him to disregard the fears that are expressed as to the formation of Native national assemblies tending to throw the government of India into confusion. Although it might be unadvisable to have one vast National Council, there might be consultative assemblies in the different provinces or districts, which could advise the Magistrates of districts, the Commis-

sioners of divisions, the Lieut.-Governors of provinces, or even the Government of India, upon what is necessary to promote the welfare of India. If such a course could be taken, he felt there would be a bright era yet in store for India. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel TYRRELL then, by way of reply, accepted Colonel Rathborne's allusion to the Government, as landlords neglectful of their duty, as fairly describing the position taken up in regard to India, and expressed his concurrence with what had fallen from the last speaker upon the subject of Councils of Natives, feeling assured that much good would result from consulting such men as Sir Salar Jung, Sir Mahadeo Row, and many others he could name. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN then said that every one present would concur with him in appreciation of the suggestive paper read by Colonel Tyrrell—(hear, hear)—which might justifiably lead to a long and interesting discussion at a less busy time of the day. He remarked, however, that no gentleman had seconded the proposition made by the opener of the discussion, unless the gentleman who spoke last intended to do so.

Mr. BANERJEE: I am not a member of the Association.

The CHAIRMAN: Then in that case the proposition falls to the ground. For his own part, however, he would say that he saw nothing utterly impossible in the construction of a National Council, and it is very undesirable that the people of England should suppose that there is no nationality in India. Even at the time when India was divided into a vast number of independent States, at variance with one another, there was still a national character in India. India in the old days had its foreign wars, and stood up to resist invaders; and since those days, by the aid of the English people, it had been advancing with railroad speed towards nationality. The English people had assisted in that by putting an end to internal and external wars, by promoting communication throughout the country by railways and roads, and by introducing a uniform system of government. India has now in every part her press, breathing forth expositions of national opinion upon every measure brought forward by the Government. With regard to the idea that England thinks it undesirable that India should be amalgamated and become one nationality, he wished to say that is a most pernicious idea. India, strong and with a civilization equal to our own, would not and could not be dangerous to England. India's strength would never be our weakness. On the contrary, when the people of India feel that we feel for them as for ourselves, the Government will be supported by the whole voice of the country. He, at all events, saw no danger from this source. Some Europeans had sprung from the same race as some of the Natives of India; he alluded to the Aryan race, which had produced some great

thinkers in Europe and other countries ; and there is undoubtedly in India much talent and latent power of might which can be called forth. He did not see any objection to the Natives sending representatives to a sort of Grand Council, which should point out to the Viceroy what are the real wants of the people of India. At present we do not know accurately what they wish for. Adverting to the question of water-supply, as touched upon by Colonel Tyrrell, the Chairman said he agreed with much that had been said in regard to irrigation. In olden time, such public works as tanks for the storage of water must have succeeded, for wherever they were situated there was a large centre of population, and if they had succeeded in the past, they ought to be brought into operation again. As Colonel Rathborne had said, we ought to retreat from an impracticable position in refusing to restore those tanks. A great deal more might be said upon the subject ; but no matter what was said in that room, when they left it, India seemed to vanish, and the consideration of her requirements was overlooked in the multitudinous stream of events passing in the outside world. In concluding, however, he could not but express a hope that a better future awaited India. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. JEANNERET moved a vote of thanks to Colonel Tyrrell for his able paper.

Mr. J. H. STOCQUELER, in seconding the motion, said he had seldom listened to a more interesting, and never to a more picturesque paper. He would add one word, however. Colonel Tyrrell had referred to the state of manufactures in India in 1872-3, and he (the speaker) was glad to say that a great increase had taken place last year, which led him to expect that a wonderful impulse would be given to trade generally when the Government had given India more water-power.

Colonel RATHBORNE supported the motion, which was then unanimously carried.

On the motion of Mr. HURRYCHUND CHINTAMON, seconded by Captain PALMER, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

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*Inter-Provincial Finance: Bombay and Bengal's  
Relative Position.*

(A Paper read before the Bombay East India Association  
by Mr. W. M. Wood.)

A MEETING of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association was held on Thursday, Feb. 11, in the hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, to hear a Paper by W. M. Wood, Esq., on "Inter-Provincial Finance."

There were present—The Hon. Rao Sahib Vishwanath N. Mandlik; W. Sowerby, Esq.; H. P. Jacob, Esq.; Dr. Atmaram Pandurang; Messrs. Dadabhai Hormusjee, Janardhan Sakharan Gadgil, Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, K. R. Kama, Bal Mangesh Waglé, Javerilal U. Yajnik, K. H. Kabrajee, Nanabhai Rustomjee Ranina; Dr. Gomes, &c. On the motion of Mr. NANABHAI RUSTOMJEE RANINA, seconded by Mr. JAVERILAL U. YAJNIK, Mr. K. R. KAMA was voted to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, after a few brief remarks on the importance of the subject of the paper, introduced Mr. WOOD, who read as follows:—

What is known in official documents as the decentralization policy and scheme, the figures of which appear in the Budget statements under the head "Provincial Services," is still on its trial. But, first, a word as to that designation. So far as the scheme goes, it is, undoubtedly, decentralizing on its expenditure side. That is, it has removed from under the direct control of the Supreme Government a certain number and amount of the less important portions of annual outlay from imperial funds, and has also placed at the sole disposal of the local Governments corresponding items of income which formerly went into the central treasury. The aggregate of income thus confidently entrusted to the uncontrolled discretion of the local or provincial Administrations is, in the estimate of 1874-75, 6,020,000L., including an opening balance of 61 lakhs. The expenditure estimate, including the closing balance and a debt of 112,000L., is 6,740,039L. It will be observed that this outlay is about one-sixth of the total expenditure of imperial funds in India—that is, excluding "local" and municipal outlay, which is also under the control or direction of the local and provincial Administrations. The income and expenditure technically called "local" are about half the amount of the "provincial" budget; and it requires the brains of a skilled accountant, aided by the keen wits of a shroff, to distinguish at the first or even second glance either the items of income or outlay pertaining to "municipal," "local," or "provincial" funds, respectively. Fortunately, it is only with the latter that we have to do.

It has just been remarked that, so far as the expenditure side of the provincial budget is concerned, the term "decentralization" is a proper one. It also applies to so much of the income side as is derived from the paltry revenues made over with the charges, and also to any tax that may be levied to make up the deficit, of which last we have had experience in this Presidency in that extraordinary device, the non-agricultural cess or rural income-tax, and in the surcharge on the towns in respect of police expenditure, the full force of which, until last week, fell on the ratepayers of Bombay. When we come to consider the bulk of the revenue allotted to the provincials, about 5,000,000*l.*, and the source whence it arises, it is seen that the term "decentralization" does not apply at all. The sum in question is simply a grant from the central exchequer, and out of the revenues which have first been collected by virtue of central authority and lodged in the central treasury. It is on this side, in what is indeed the basis of the system, that we see its weakness; and it is because of this essentially central origin, as well as of the virtually rigid limitation of the so-called "provincial" funds, that the experiment, as it is called, threatens to break down in Western India. It is in the inequitable allocation of the funds and in the unfair stinting of this Presidency that friction arises, and by which discontent is caused; but we contend that this unfairness is almost inseparable from the circumstance that the bulk of the funds assigned have no connection whatever with the province or presidency to which they are allotted, and the amount bestowed has no relation to the revenue, productiveness, or otherwise of the Administrations and people to whom it is granted. Home politicians have constantly to be reminded that India is not homogeneous; but this very significant proposition is constantly being forgotten by the Supreme Government itself, and never more conspicuously so than in framing the scheme and allocating the allotments under the so-called decentralization resolution of December, 1870. Perhaps the common-place excuse might be permitted, that it seemed the best that could be done in the circumstances; but the fact remains that in this avowedly great administrative change—what I should speak of as the beginning of a new era in self-dependent provincial administration—we have an instance of the merest empiricism and rule-of-thumb arrangement. Though in the resolution itself and the remarks of the Finance Minister and other members of the Supreme Executive immediately responsible for launching the scheme, care was taken to let it be understood that the central Government was exercising the utmost caution in slackening the leading-strings by which it holds the "provincials," the new policy of which that scheme was the paltry outcome had previously been vaunted as a great line of statesmanship by various members of the

Supreme Government. It is permissible, therefore, just for a brief while, to consider how far the present scheme has any claim to be regarded in that light.

For this purpose we may proceed, by way of contrast, and present to you the lines of a project of true decentralization—one sketched by a master-hand and placed on record very many years before our Supreme Government attained courage so far as to permit the provincials to settle and disburse the outlay on their police, schools, gaols, printing offices, and registration work. It will be necessary to read the whole passage in which this grander decentralization scheme occurs, and we shall inevitably take-up some politics along with the administrative proposal; but I say it is begging the question if any one interposes, as an argument, the remark that the local or presidential disposal of the finances is nothing more than a mere administrative question. Trusting that after we have done with the speaker—for it is a passage from a speech that I quote, and I leave you to guess whose it is—we shall have breath enough left to attend to the humdrum matters of detail which await us, I now take the plunge, first reminding you that this was spoken so long ago as June, 1858:—

“I do not know at this moment, and I never have known, a man competent to govern India; and if any man says he is competent, he sets himself up at a much higher value than those who are acquainted with him are likely to set him. Let the House look at the making of the laws for twenty nations speaking twenty languages. Look at the regulation of the police for twenty nations speaking twenty languages. Look at the question of public works as it affects twenty nations speaking twenty languages, where there is no municipal power and no combination of any kind such as facilitate the construction of public works in this country. . . Inevitably all those duties that devolve on every good government must be neglected by the Governor-General of India, however wise, capable, and honest he may be in the performance of his duties, because the duties laid upon him are such as no man now living or who ever lived can or could properly sustain. It may be asked what I would substitute for the Governor-Generalship of India. Now I do not propose to abolish the office of Governor-General of India this Session. I am not proposing any clause in the Bill, and if I were to propose one to carry out the idea I have expressed, I might be answered by the argument, that a great part of the population of India is in a state of anarchy, and that it would be most inconvenient, if not dangerous, to abolish the office of Governor-General at such a time. I do not mean to propose such a thing now; but I take this opportunity of stating my views, in the hope that when we come to 1863, we may

“perhaps be able to consider the question more in the light in which I  
“am endeavouring to present it to the House. I would propose that,  
“instead of having a Governor-General and an Indian Empire, we should  
“have neither the one nor the other. I would propose that we should  
“have Presidencies, and not an Empire. If I were a Minister—which  
“the House will admit is a bold figure of speech—and if the House were  
“to agree with me—which is also an essential point—I would propose  
“to have at least five Presidencies in India, and I would have the  
“governments of those Presidencies perfectly equal in rank and in  
“salary. The capitals of those Presidencies would probably be Cal-  
“cutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, and Lahore. I will take the Presi-  
“dency of Madras as an illustration. Madras has a population of some  
“20,000,000. We all know its position on the map, and that it has the  
“advantage of being more compact, geographically speaking, than the  
“other Presidencies. It has a Governor and a Council. I would give  
“to it a Governor and a Council still, but would confine all their duties  
“to the Presidency of Madras, and I would treat it just as if Madras  
“was the only portion of India connected with this country. I would have  
“its finance, its taxation, its justice, and its police departments, as well  
“as its public works and military departments, precisely the same as if it  
“were a State having no connection with any other part of India, and  
“recognized only as a dependency of this country. I would propose that  
“the government of every Presidency should correspond with the Secre-  
“tary for India in England, and that there should be telegraphic com-  
“munications between all the Presidencies in India, as I hope before  
“long to see a telegraphic communication between the office of the  
“noble lord (Lord Stanley) and every Presidency over which he pre-  
“sides. I shall no doubt be told that there are insuperable difficulties  
“in the way of such an arrangement, and I shall be sure to hear of the  
“military difficulty. Now, I do not profess to be an authority on  
“military affairs, but I know that military men often make great  
“mistakes. I would have the Army divided, each Presidency having  
“its own army, just as now, care being taken to have them kept dis-  
“tinct; and I see no danger of any confusion or misunderstanding,  
“when an emergency arose, in having them all brought together to  
“carry out the views of the Government. . . . There is one question  
“which it is important to bear in mind, and that is with regard to the  
“Councils in India. I think every Governor of a Presidency should  
“have an assistant Council, but differently constituted from what they  
“now are. I would have an open Council. What we want is to make  
“the Governments of the Presidencies governments for the people of  
“the Presidencies: not governments for the civil servants of the Crown,



“but for non-official mercantile classes from England who settle there,  
“and for the 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 of Natives in each Presidency.  
“... Now, suppose the Governor-General gone, the Presidencies es-  
“tablished, the Governors equal in rank and dignity, and their Councils  
“constituted in the manner I have indicated, is it not reasonable to  
“suppose that the delay which has hitherto been one of the greatest  
“curses of your Indian Government would be almost altogether avoided?  
“Instead of a Governor-General living in Calcutta, or at Simla—never  
“travelling over the whole of the country, and knowing very little about  
“it, and that little only through other official eyes—is it not reasonable  
“to suppose that the action of the Government would be more direct in  
“all its duties and in every department of its service than has been the  
“case under the system which has existed until now? Your adminis-  
“tration of the law, marked by so much disgrace, could never have  
“lasted so long as it has done if the Governors of your Presidencies had  
“been independent Governors. So with regard to matters of police,  
“education, public works, and everything that can stimulate industry;  
“and so with regard to your system of taxation. You would have in  
“every Presidency a constant rivalry for good. The Governor of  
“Madras, when his term of office expired, would be delighted to show  
“that the people of that Presidency were contented, that the whole  
“Presidency was advancing in civilization, that roads and all manner of  
“useful public works were extending, that industry was becoming more  
“and more a habit of the people, and that the exports and imports were  
“constantly increasing. The Governors of Bombay and the rest of the  
“Presidencies would be animated by the same spirit, and so you would  
“have all over India, as I have said, a rivalry for good; you would have  
“placed a check on that malignant spirit of ambition which has worked  
“so much evil—you would have no Governor so great that you could  
“not control him, none who might make war when he pleased. War  
“and annexation would be greatly checked, if not entirely prevented;  
“and I do in my conscience believe you would have laid the foundation  
“for a better and more permanent form of government for India than  
“has ever obtained since it came under the rule of England. . . . The  
“Presidency of Madras, for instance, having its own Government, would  
“in fifty years become one compact State, and every part of the Presi-  
“dency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the  
“Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on  
“for a century or more, there would be five or six Presidencies of India  
“built up into so many compact States; and if at any future period the  
“sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many  
“Presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to

"support its own independence and its own Government; and we should "be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and "discord which I believe to be inevitable if we insist on holding those "vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great "empire. But I am obliged to admit that mere machinery is not sufficient in this case, either with respect to my own scheme or to that of "the noble lord (Lord Stanley). We want something else than mere "clerks, stationery, despatches, and so forth. We want what I shall "designate as a new feeling in England, and an entirely new policy in "India. . . . You may govern India, if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channels of the "good of India."

Since that glowing passage was spoken, many changes have passed over the speaker and his hearers alike; and I think every member of this Association will admit that since the period in question (1858) many ameliorations can be shown in Indian polity, and that many improvements in administration have been carried into effect, nearly all of them in accord with the elevated tone and far-reaching suggestions embodied in this speech. But we have not yet abolished the Governor-General; and as the viceregal sway in all those functions in which its validity is unquestioned becomes more prompt and pronounced with every year of railway and telegraph extension, we may as well at once revert to our prosaic subject—that permission to spend 5,000,000*l.* sterling of central funds which was first awarded to the provincial Administrations by the late Viceroy, Earl Mayo, a very short time before his decease. It is only the case of this Presidency we propose to look at rather closely; and the chief thing is to show that the allotment is inadequate and inequitable. As the Government of India proceeded by rule-of-thumb in making these allotments, we shall have to adopt a somewhat similar method in testing Bombay's share—that is, we can, in the first instance, only take for comparison the assignment to some other division, and we propose to take the grant to Bengal as a standard. Were we not obliged to follow the lines of the existing empirical system, it would not be difficult to show that if decentralization, or provincial financial autonomy, were based on first principles, it would commence on the revenue side of the account, where, as we have seen, it has now no place at all. For my own part, I contend that as the land revenue has always been the basis of Indian finance, so it is the resource on which provincial finance should be chiefly based; for, except tolls and similar strictly local imposts, there is no portion of the public revenue which is so distinctly the appanage of the people amongst whom it is raised as is the land assessment. The only true basis, then, for any equitable system

of inter-provincial finance, the initial step of the whole scheme, should be the assignment of a certain proportion of that universal and everywhere approved source of public revenue—it being levied, as now, under the name and authority of the Supreme Government. It seems to me that from one-fourth to one-third of the nett amount raised in each presidency and province should be assigned to the local Executive authorities for provincial services within the area where the said revenue is produced. It will be seen at a glance that to proceed on this principle would make havoc of the present clumsy scheme; but if the principle is a sound one, its recognition and gradual application could scarcely fail to commend itself to all concerned. If we are not mistaken, its working out would do much towards modifying certain long-standing inequalities presented by the varying proportions in which the Supreme Government draws its revenue from the several presidencies of India.

Very little is understood about the facts of inter-provincial finance—we are not speaking here about decentralization. The inequalities just referred to are not conspicuous—indeed, scarcely visible on the surface; but a still more cogent reason for the subject being ill-understood and continuously shunned is that fiscal pressure is the heaviest in the presidencies having least connection with the Supreme Government, and lightest on those provinces with which the members of that Government are on the most friendly and familiar terms. The Government of India being remote from Bombay, having little acquaintance with the representative men of this Presidency, and still less love for the rest, the people of Western India are permitted to contribute to the central exchequer nearly Rs.5 per head; while Bengal—which, with a little aid from the N. W. Provinces, has been the nursing mother of all the influential members of the Supreme Government—is thought to have quite sufficient fiscal burden to sustain while yielding barely Rs.3 per head to the common fund. But this comparison only shows the mere superficial contrast. The great Agricultural and Statistical Department, though it has been grinding away for five years or so, has not yet proved equal to the preliminary step of giving us statistics—not even approximate figures—in quantities or values of the annual produce of the soil in order that we might thereby compare the relative productiveness and fertility of Bengal and Western India. Yet it will be evident to those who have any general acquaintance with both sides of this peninsula, that the difference in these respects must be enormous—the advantage in every natural requisite of production being with Bengal and Hindustan proper, or, let us say, the countries of the Ganges and Jumna. Probably, if we assume five to one as the proportion in which the Bombay Presidency is handicapped in regard to fertile soil, security

against drought, and cheap water communication, we shall not be beyond the mark. If something like this disparity exists in respect of the original revenue capabilities of Eastern and Western India respectively, the fiscal and administrative arrangements under which Bombay's population pays nearly twice as much per head as is paid by the Bengalees must be monstrously unjust, or an extremely bad fit. And it must be remembered, too, that there is a further discrepancy under the heads of "local funds" and municipal revenues, which in Bombay amount to a much larger proportion than in any other division of India.

Perhaps the wonder may arise—how is it possible for Western India to have borne this disproportionate burden? That is not for us to dwell upon here. Nevertheless the question is a far-reaching one, and well worthy the attention of patient, persevering investigators. If Western Europe would spare us half of the theorizers about "sociology," whose darkening of counsel with words without knowledge mystifies themselves and their antagonists, and causes plain practical folk to despair of setting the world to rights, something, perhaps, might be done to get at a scientific, irrefutable analysis of the anomaly to which we have referred. Indian administrators, even when men of fair and open mind, have not the leisure or the scientific habit which would enable them to work out these problems, although they select and accumulate materials suitable for the purpose with an industry and sound practical judgment which none may gainsay. It is in the tedious task of accurate comparison and in the perilous work of generalization that they fail, and that unavoidably. The anomaly to which we point is open and palpable after the first step beyond the bare figures of the annual finance accounts; but let us here state it once more—notwithstanding enormously superior natural advantages in fertility of soil and cheap water communication enjoyed by the Bengal Presidency as compared with Bombay and Scinde, the people of Western India have yielded considerably more (equivalent to at least three times as much) to the Supreme Government's exchequer than have the people of the former presidency. It is true the explanation may be needed quite as much in respect of Bengal deficiency in, as in regard to Bombay's superfluity of, national contribution. Another thought suggests itself: perhaps the Bombay people might have made better use for their own private purposes of the many extra millions worth of their labour and produce which during a long course of years have tumbled into the central exchequer. But let us now come to close quarters, and descend to the level of decentralization as we find it, cut and dried by rule-of-thumb.

The total sum assigned in the estimate from the central exchequer for the year now closing on was 5,030,000*l*. This, by the addition from

the receipts transferred, together with the very significant item, "Contributions from Local Funds, and Public Works," became a total of 6,020,000*l.*, to which are also added 11 lakhs of borrowed funds, and the opening balance set off by a closing one of somewhat less amount. We have only to do with the 5,000,000*l.* odd doled out from the central treasury—the minimum grant perpetually settled on the pertinacious provincials, who, strange to say, are not, on this side of India at least, content to have the entail cut off which they thought was due to them on the probable growth of the "imperial" revenues which increase and multiply under their labour and supervision. Although we have given the total of estimated provincial assignments for the current year, the imperial accountants are, as usual, so far behindhand that we find it impossible to obtain any current statement of the revenues contributed by the several presidencies and provinces to the central treasury—neither "estimated" to correspond with the estimated aggregate grant, nor the "actuals" for 1873-74. Therefore we must fall back on the account of the revenues of the separate presidencies as estimated for 1873-74. This, too, we get, and without any details, from only a page or two of the annual Parliamentary return, the "East India Revenue Accounts," which was printed last May, though settled and signed in December, 1873, at Calcutta, instead of being issued directly in India long ere this in the familiar yellow book, and in the tolerably full detail there formerly given. We might ask, in passing, if Lord Northbrook approves of this peculiarly inconvenient instance of retrogression in national account rendering? Taking, then, these rather stale estimates instead of tolerably fresh "actuals," we observe that Bengal is credited with yielding a gross revenue of 15,127,300*l.*, and Bombay with 9,318,000*l.* That is, in both cases omitting sundry refunds or income from Army and Public Works, which, if included, would show much to the advantage of Bombay. The sums allotted to Bengal and Bombay for provincial services in that year were 1,239,800*l.* and 987,400*l.* respectively. On the first glance at the figures of revenue, two inferences suggest themselves—first, that, as Bengal has a population about four times as numerous as that of Bombay (with Scinde), and an area nearly twice as extensive, then either Bengal pays 20,000,000*l.* too little, or Bombay 5,000,000*l.* and more too much; second, to take the expenditure side of the comparison—if the provincial grant to Bengal, rather over 1,250,000*l.*, is sufficient, then Bombay, with well on to 1,000,000*l.*, must have more than its share. To accept the first of these inferences would sufficiently answer the purpose of our argument, but to follow the superficial method just indicated would, in either case, expose us to the reproach that we also had been working the problem by rule-of-thumb, as we have said was

done by the framers of the decentralization scheme. No ; any just complaint or equitable adjustment must proceed on some method which shall exhibit, as nearly as may be, the amount really paid into the central exchequer by the population of each presidency or province which figures in the schedule of provincial assignments.

It is manifest at once that the public revenues collected within each port and presidency do not necessarily represent or tally with the amounts which the people of each division themselves pay to the State, nor the proportion in which the several populations sustain the burden of contribution to the central exchequer. To get at that even approximately we must follow other methods than that of merely looking to the total of the revenue accounts. And here it will simplify the discussion somewhat if we remark that we have nothing to do here with the differences between taxation proper and other revenue which may not cause pressure on the people. From our present point of view, all is good fish that comes into the net of the State, and much of it that comes into separate nets must be equally shared by or amongst all the fishermen. In this way we must treat the opium, customs, and salt revenues. The opium revenue is paid by the foolish foreign consumer, John Chinaman, and his useful dollars are as much the property of the Central Provinces and Madras people as of the population in Bengal, where it is grown, or of that in Bombay Island, where the duty on the Malwa duty is collected. Customs and salt are taxes in every sense of the term, and none can have a better claim to enjoy the proceeds of those imports than have the people from whom they are levied. The only question in this case is, how can we get at the proportion paid by each province ? There is no method readily available except that of presuming the incidence of customs' duties and salt-tax to be tolerably equally distributed through each province of India. It is quite certain that of the customs' duties levied in Calcutta and Bombay, a large portion is paid by populations beyond the boundaries of those presidencies ; and a similar remark applies, with a certain difference, to the salt-tax collections. Under some other heads, such as "tributes" and "forest," there may be inequalities as regards locality of collection, but it is not worth while going into these niceties. What we have to do is simple enough. The three large items just named must be deducted from the apparent revenues of the provinces whose claims to share in the provincial assignments we wish to assess. Then, in lieu of the actual local collections under the three heads named, must be accorded such proportion of the whole national proceeds of those revenues as will accord with the relation which the population of the provinces concerned bears to that of India as a whole.

As this is a suit in equity, we must not grudge a little trouble in getting as close to the right figures as is practicable; therefore, I will deal with the nett amounts of the collections instead of with the gross totals, which would be much easier to handle. Proceeding, then, on this principle, we observe that the total nett estimated revenue in Bengal in 1873-74 was 12,203,500*l.*, and in Bombay, 7,878,000*l.* And now we must go on to strip these sums of the three large items which belong to India as a whole. In doing this, you will see I shall treat Bengal with singular generosity. The year 1873-74 appears to have been an unusually poor one for the opium proceeds of that Presidency, or else Sir Richard Temple, wishing to signalize his last year of finance by a big surplus, had "hedged" as much as possible in his estimates. However, we will be more than just to Bengal, and therefore I have added to her nett estimated total for 1873-74 the difference between the nett opium revenue for that year and the larger yield of 1872-73. But, whilst benevolent to Bengal, we must not be unjust to Bombay; therefore, we have deducted from the large sum entered in the account as Bombay's "charges on realization of land revenue" the quarter million (see p. 17, Yellow Book, 1872-73, 259,027*l.*) or so of "alienations," which is no more a charge on collecting our land revenue than is the cost of the ex-King of Oudh's establishment at Garden Reach a part of the Administration charges of that now British province. Let us now proceed to arrange our figures, not of speech, but of arithmetical comparison:—

Revenue (nett) collected in Bengal*	... ..	£12,877,056
Deduct Opium*	... ..	£3,587,200
Customs	... ..	925,300
Salt...	... ..	2,612,500
		<hr/>
		7,125,000

Bengal's true provincial contribution	... ..	5,752,056
Add Bengal's share of total national revenue from three items on the basis of population, being one-third	... ..	4,814,533
		<hr/>

{ Opium	... ..	£6,326,000
{ Customs	... ..	2,440,300
{ Salt	... ..	5,677,422
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		£14,443,722

Bengal's true revenue	... ..	£10,566,589
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\* As adjusted for allowance on opium.

Revenue (nett) collected in Bombay ... ..	£7,878,000
Deduct Opium ... ..	£2,738,900
Customs ... ..	644,200
Salt ... ..	691,300
	<hr/>
	4,074,400
	<hr/>
	3,803,600
Add Bombay's share, being 1-12th of the national revenue from three items as above ... ..	1,203,840
	<hr/>
Bombay's true revenue ... ..	£5,007,440

These figures might at first sight seem to show the proportion in which each presidency can claim its share in the provincial allotment; for, whereas Bengal, with 64,000,000, or four times the population of Bombay, contributes little more than twice as much total nett revenue to the central exchequer than is yielded by the latter presidency with its 16,000,000, the former total represents only about Rs. 1-9 per head of the population, while the latter is equal to Rs. 3-2 per head. Thus the allotment to the Bombay Government on behalf of its people ought to be twice what it is, if the allotment under the rule-of-thumb system to the eastern presidency is a fair basis of comparison—that is, Bombay ought to have a grant of 1,974,800*l.*, instead of 987,400*l.*, as in the year under reference. But there is another side of the account which must be taken into consideration before we can see what is fairly due to each presidency in any impartial distribution of imperial funds.

We have taken great pains to bring out what nett sum each of these divisions of British India contributes to the central exchequer, and it is now, in turn, necessary to consider what is due from each of these presidencies to the cost of imperial rule and the charges of general administration, as those charges are brought to account under the Government of India. We have given the 64,000,000 of Bengal and 16,000,000 of Bombay, respectively, credit per head of population for their share in the imperial revenues of opium, customs, and salt. In giving Bengal her *pro rata* share of the two latter items, we have gone beyond what was demanded by the facts of the case, for it is obvious on the surface of things that, poor as the masses are in Western India, their standard of living is so far higher than amongst the wretched, hopeless peasantry of Bengal, that a much larger proportion of salt and dutiable articles is consumed per head in this than in the eastern presidency. A similar comparison, though perhaps in rather less degree, might be drawn in favour of the condition of the people in the Madras Presidency; and some of those who have been accustomed to sneer at the “minor presidencies” would



find it instructive to consider the reason why of this somewhat superior social condition in Western and Southern India.

Having, therefore, impartially allotted the imperial income, we must now proceed to debit each presidency with its share of the general burden of debt, of military charges, public works (paid out of revenue), railway guarantees, and other imperial expenditure, which is incurred equally for the benefit of all the provinces of British India. In ascertaining what is the amount of this general burden, we exclude all the costs of collection, as in the items of revenue already dealt with; we exclude the outlay from borrowed funds technically described as "expenditure extraordinary;" we also deduct the refunds or payment under the head of "Army," amounting to nearly 1,000,000*l.*, and the direct returns from irrigation and other public works, which last, it is deplorable to observe, amount to little over 500,000*l.* The nett sum of general charge thus shown in the accounts before us—that is, the estimates for 1873-74—is about 40,870,000*l.* Proceeding, then, on the basis of the population of Bengal being one-third of all the Governor-General's contributories, it is plain that for imperial charges Bengal ought to contribute 13,623,330*l.* But we have shown that Bengal's yield to the central exchequer, when liberally reckoned, is really only 10,556,589*l.*, thus showing a deficit of 3,066,744*l.* But that does not show all Bengal owes to the central treasury, for we must remember she has given to her, under the head of these provincial allotments, 1,239,800*l.*, and for public works ordinary, 166,700*l.*, besides the lion's share of expenditure from loan funds. Altogether, Bengal's deficit in the year under notice would, reckoned in this way, amount to 4,473,240*l.*

Let us now turn to Bombay. Proceeding on the same basis, and taking the Bombay (with Scinde) population at 16,000,000, or one-twelfth of British India, we find that her debt on account of general imperial charges is 3,405,830*l.*; but, as we have shown, her true revenue, her undoubted contribution to the central exchequer, is 5,007,440*l.*; there is at once a surplus, or, let us describe it correctly, an equitable surcharge on Western India of 1,601,607*l.* This suffices to cover both the provincial allotment which Bombay receives, 987,400*l.*, and the public works ordinary grant, 409,400*l.*, which in the year under notice happens to be three times that of the current one to Bengal. After these debits there is still a surplus unjustly wrung from Bombay of 204,807*l.* These conclusions are thus set out in plain tabular form; but in order to be more exact, we will, in this complete statement, deduct from the aggregate nett imperial expenditure the public works grants (out of revenue) and the aggregate grant of allotment for provincial services. The figures will then stand thus:—

Total nett imperial expenditure to be shared ... ..	£33,415,730
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Bengal's debit to the central treasury ... ..	11,138,577
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Bengal's true revenue (nett) ... ..	10,556,590
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Deficiency ... ..	581,987
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Add Public Works grant ... ..	166,700
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„ Provincial allotment ... ..	1,239,800
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Bengal's (nett) deficit made up by Bombay and other provinces of India ... ..	£1,988,487
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Bombay's debit to nett imperial expenditure ... ..	£2,784,644
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Bombay's true revenue ... ..	5,007,440
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Surplus yielded by Bombay ... ..	£2,222,796
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Deduct Provincial allotment ... ..	987,400
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„ Public Works grant ... ..	409,400
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	£1,496,800
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Bombay's SURPLUS, after all ... ..	725,996
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Add Bengal's total deficiency or extra grant ... ..	1,988,487
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Bombay's position being worse than Bengal's by ...	£2,714,483
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Thus, at the lowest computation it is plain that the revenue-producers of Western India stand in a more onerous position towards the Government of India than those of Bengal by 2,750,000*l.* per annum. And it must be remembered we have taken the trouble to deal only with nett revenue and charges; but to the taxpayer or ryot the costs of collection are very real indeed. The last anna which goes into the State coffers pinches him more than the first. If there is any error of principle in our method of comparison, let it be shown; but, whichever way we turn, confirmation arises that our conclusions are essentially correct—that either Bombay is paying too much to the central exchequer and getting too little in return, or Bengal is paying far too little and getting more than its due in return.

In a pamphlet just published by Mr. John Hector, of the Bank of Bengal, entitled “The Permanent Settlement Problem,” he takes from the reports of 1871-72 the nett land revenue of that year, and, dealing

with it alone, he points out that whereas Bombay, with an area of 127,530 square miles, sends 2,744,060*l.* of land revenue to the central exchequer, Bengal, with 230,830 square miles, sends only 3,651,550*l.*; and in local taxation he mentions that Bombay pays 10,000*l.* more than is collected on that account throughout broad and fertile Bengal. He goes on to remark as follows:—

“The other provinces of India have to make up for the deficiencies of Bengal, and it must be admitted that they accept the position more resignedly than might be expected, considering that it is through no inability to pay more that Bengal now contributes so little as compared with them. This indifference or silent resignation, or whatever it may be termed, is much to be regretted, for if the other provinces were to take the matter up with any degree of unanimity, and represent the injustice to them, the effect would be to force a solution of the difficulty, and to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in carrying out any measure which might be adopted for that end.”

And in another part of his pamphlet Mr. Hector thus speaks of this great anomaly from an imperial standpoint:—

“No class benefited more by the suppression of the Mutiny than the landholders of Bengal, yet, while the public debt, and consequent burden on the revenues, was nearly doubled by that event, the landholders pay no more now than they did a century ago. They pay no fair share of the cost of the large standing army which India requires, and, as already stated, they have contributed nothing for the public works which Government has carried out and is carrying out for the improvement of agriculture and commerce, and for the prevention of famines.”

As Mr. Hector pertinently remarks: “It is through no inability to pay more that Bengal now contributes so little as compared with” the other provinces of India; and all through this comparison the standard of relative productiveness as between Western India and the Bengal Presidency must be borne in mind. We estimated that standard as five to one, and we invite, or, if you will, challenge refutation on this interesting point of financial and agricultural statistics. We do not know whether the “indifference or silent resignation” with which Bombay and, in only somewhat less degree, other provinces of India go on, decade after decade, in enduring this unequal burden thrust on them by Bengal’s permanent deficiency, will be much longer maintained. There is in India an immense fund of dumb endurance on one side and stolid or optimist indifference on the other. And this reminds us that as a concomitant of that startling inequality between the contributions of Bengal and Bombay to the central treasury, there is in Bengal a still more

painful contrast within that Presidency itself. There we see that, notwithstanding the very moderate, not to say inadequate, fiscal burden borne by that Presidency, the masses of the people, the tillers of the soil, are, as a whole, sunk in most degrading and hopeless poverty.

It would be vain at the close of a paper like this to attempt even so much as a suggestion towards the removal of the monstrous social evil which is presented in the condition of the wretched cottier tenantry of Bengal, and yet a passing remark or two may be permitted. It is disheartening to observe that in certain points in which Sir George Campbell's firmness and vigour had gained a step or two as against the compact phalanx of vested interests which on one hand depress the Bengal ryot still deeper into the quagmire of destitution, and on the other deprive the central exchequer of funds for the general purposes of Government which must be obtained from other provinces of India—on those points, we say, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir R. Temple, has weakly given way. Again, so difficult is it for a Bengal civilian to realize how abnormal and intractable is the ill-organized landed system with which alone he is familiar, that, during last month, one of the most able of his class, Mr. H. L. Dampier, was seen, in the Bengal Legislative Council, proceeding with one Bill on the assumption that the classes specially interested in evading their just dues to the provincial or local funds would voluntarily and faithfully record their own obligations, and, in another, on the supposition that cottier tenants, utterly destitute as they are, could be made to pay for the grants of grain which have just kept them alive through the famine, the nett result of such grants being that these miserable anatomies called ryots have been preserved with just enough life and sense left to enable them to go on producing the rack-rents under which the greater part of the cultivators of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa are hopelessly ground. It might seem that something should here be said with regard to the recent expenditure from the central treasury of 6,000,000*l.* sterling in order to relieve the famine of one of those provinces; but from this side of India rises no complaint because of that unexampled sacrifice of the nation's funds to keep the people alive. Notwithstanding the long-standing and continuous fiscal injustice and financial deprivation which Western India has suffered, there was everywhere in this Presidency willingness to see the funds drawn by the central treasury from our revenues placed without stint at the disposal of the Viceroy for famine relief. But I will mention how the subject was spoken of in an interrogatory form by one of the most experienced and trusted financial officers of the Government of India; he said, "What would have been thought of this expenditure on Behar if so many millions had been directly levied from the other provinces of India at the

"time?" No doubt such forced benevolence would have been resented and resisted as stoutly as ever was the Maratha *chouth* north of the Vindyas. The modern devices of loans and huge cash balances serve to disguise and distribute the pressure; but the enforced contribution which, year by year, the other provinces of India have to furnish for the shortcomings of Bengal, causes an undue strain on their fiscal capabilities, and constitutes an injustice and anomaly which will have to be combated and removed when some statesman of genius and originality arises to deal with these pressing Indian problems, for the solution of which the empire groans, and in waiting for which the people are heart-sick.

After some conversation amongst the members present,

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE remarked that as the paper abounded with facts and elaborate figures, showing how inadequate was Bombay's share compared to Bengal in the provincial assignments from the Imperial revenue, it would, he thought, be very unfair to the author, as well as to the several members of the Association, to discuss the merits of the various points suggested by it in an off-hand manner. He therefore proposed that the paper be printed, and copies circulated amongst the members, to enable them to digest its contents and offer their observations at some future time.

Mr. HORMUSJEE DADABHAI concurred in the views of Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, and said that the Managing Committee would have great pleasure in getting copies of the paper printed and circulated amongst the members.

The thanks of the meeting having been proposed by the Chairman and voted to Mr. Wood for his paper, the meeting separated.

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*Memorial to the Government of India on Tariff  
Valuations.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS GEORGE BARING,  
BARON NORTHBROOK, G.M.S.I., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL  
OF INDIA IN COUNCIL, CALCUTTA.

*The Humble Memorial of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Branch  
of the East India Association*

Most Respectfully Sheweth,

That your Excellency's Memorialists understand that proposals to reduce several of the existing Tariff valuations of articles on which customs' duty is assessed under the provisions of Act XIII. of 1871, are under the consideration of the Government of India; and that, with a view to ascertain what modifications may be made to bring the Tariff as near as possible to the current market rates, Government have asked the opinions of the several Chambers of Commerce in India.

2. That opportunity has, at the same time, been taken to elicit opinions as to the propriety of "removing from the Tariff any articles, "the retention of which may be unimportant in the interest of public "revenue, and the removal of which from the list of dutiable articles "would give freedom to trade, or any other cases in which, from competition or otherwise, the effect of the existing export duties may be "considered to be seriously prejudicial to the trade in the articles subject "to them."

3. That suggestions have also been invited as to the alleged injurious effect of the existing import duties on Manchester goods and yarns.

4. That, from opportunities your Excellency's Memorialists have of witnessing the effects of the levy of customs' duties on trade in this Presidency, they beg respectfully to urge upon your Excellency's Government the expediency of repealing the export duty on cotton goods and yarns manufactured in this country. The injustice of this levy will be at once manifest from the fact that, whereas Manchester goods and yarns imported into this country obtain, when re-exported to foreign markets, a drawback amounting to fourteen annas in the rupee of the duty paid, country-made goods and yarns exported to those very

markets have to pay the duty of 3 per cent. The exporter of Manchester goods and yarns has thus a decided preferential advantage over the country goods exporters. In the case of low counts of yarns and calicoes made therefrom, the distinctly protective benefit amounts to seven-eighths of the 3 per cent. duty. Indian manufacturers being thus unfairly weighted with duty, the rising export trade in Indian cotton manufactures is deprived of the benefit and stimulus which free and unfettered competition would confer upon this native industry.

5. That of the goods thus exported from India, a certain portion is made from Lancashire yarns that have already paid the import duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the Tariff value. By charging such goods with a duty of 3 per cent. at the time of export, they come to be burdened with a total duty of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which is rapidly destroying the manufacture of English yarns in Indian looms for export purposes.

6. That your Memorialists would beg to point out that the sacrifice to the general revenue involved in the repeal of the export duty on cotton yarns and calicoes is very small. The average receipts for the past few years have scarcely exceeded 12,000*l.* per annum, about half of which is drawn from Bombay, where the duty has had very restrictive effects. Your Memorialists need hardly remark that one result of the repeal of the duties would be to afford a wider scope and open fresh outlets in foreign markets for Indian manufactured goods.

7. That your Memorialists, in support of their plea, may be permitted to make a passing reference to an exceedingly well-thought-out paper on Indian Finance and fiscal questions, which was read before the parent Association in London by a well-known and experienced Bombay administrator, Major-General W. F. Marriott, R.E. The following is one of the conclusions regarding Customs Reform arrived at by that officer as recorded in that paper:—

“But one of the first experiments should be to abolish the export duties on cotton manufactures.” . . . “The duty is a heavy one. There can be little doubt that it falls wholly on the producers—wholly, therefore, on a comparatively small class. It is no longer productive of any considerable sum, and it effectually discourages a manufacture for which India has some special fitness.”

8. That your Excellency's Memorialists do not feel called upon to go into the general question of Customs Reform—a subject fully discussed last week by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce; but they feel it desirable to refer to the alleged “injurious effect of the duties levied on the ‘import of cotton goods and twist manufactured in England,’ and to

respond to the following remarks in the official letter addressed to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce:—

“The Government of India does not impose or maintain customs’ duties for the purpose of affording protection to any branch or class of industry, but for revenue purposes only.”

The soundness of this principle your Memorialists fully acknowledge. And as to the alleged injurious effects of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 5 per cent. duty on imported cotton yarns and goods respectively, your Excellency will find, on due scrutiny being made, that for years past, and long before the present Native manufacturers had gained strength, the imports of English cotton goods of low counts and common descriptions, corresponding to the class of goods turned out by the Indian mills, had virtually ceased, while, as regards the great bulk of imported cotton goods, they are of prices and makes all above what the Indian mills have manufactured, or are likely to attempt. Thus, it will be plain to your Excellency that the pressure which, on behalf of Lancashire interests, it is sought to put on the Government of India to compel it to sacrifice its customs revenue from imported cotton goods, proceeds, to a very large extent, on imperfect information and mistaken grounds. To your Memorialists the question of abolishing the import duties on cotton goods is one of revenue, and, as such, must be considered in its relative importance, on one side, as to its productiveness, on the other, as to the pressure not only of other duties, but of other taxes—as, for instance, the salt-tax—on the consumers. Confining their references to the Tariff, your Memorialists would observe that there are scores of useful articles which have to sustain the very heavy duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per centum; and, as a particular illustration, they would again quote from General Marriott’s paper, thus:—

“Of all the import duties, one of the most obviously over-weighted is the duty on metals (other than iron). The largest item is copper. The imports are steadily dwindling. The imports of 1868-69 were nearly three times the imports of 1872-73, and have steadily declined between these periods. The whole receipts of 1872-73 were—

Copper at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ....	£44,288
Other metals do. ....	32,891

“A large diminution of rates would be a small sacrifice of revenue, and even that sacrifice would probably be met, to some extent, by increased consumption.”

9. That the prayer of your Memorialists for the speedy and total abolition of the export duty on cotton yarns and goods, having more



special reference to relief of a rising or restored native industry—one which, while affording employment to considerable numbers of the population not employed in agriculture, offers many incidental advantages to several classes of the community—is one which they feel confident your Excellency will desire to press on the immediate attention of your Council; and in this confidence they subscribe themselves,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

SORABJEE SHAPOORJEE, Vice-Chairman,

JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YAJNIK, Honorary Secretary,  
Bombay Branch East India Association.

*Bombay, January 15, 1875.*

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## LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS WHO HAVE PAID Rs. 150.

*Kattyawar Life Members.*

	Rs.
Khachar Alla Chella Khachar, King of Jusdan, Jusdan ... ..	150
Ruttonjee Kessowjee Kothari, Bhooj ... ..	150
Rajgar Lalji Ladhaji, Bhooj ... ..	150
Dr. Dorabjee Hormusjee, G.G.M.C., Bhooj ... ..	150
Mehta Rowjee Heerachund, Bhooj ... ..	150
Thaker Govindjee Dhurumsey, Bhooj ... ..	150
Rustomjee Mervanjee and Sons, Bhooj... ..	150
Peer Lutfulla Rahimdeen, Bhooj ... ..	150
Ishvurlal Ochowram, Officiating Dewan, Bhooj ... ..	150
Jala Jalamsing, Bhooj ... ..	150
Mehta Valabhjee Ladha, Bhooj ... ..	150
Nurbheram Hurjeevun, Bhooj ... ..	150
Nazir Mirza Meeya, Bhooj ... ..	150
Goorjee Jeraj, Bhooj ... ..	150
Savai Gooroojee, Bhooj ... ..	150
Anundjee Vishram, Bhooj ... ..	150
Thaker Karsandass Naranjee, Anjar, Bhooj ... ..	150
Veerbhadra Poonjaji of Kunthkote, Anjar, Bhooj ... ..	150
Jeram Shivjee, Moondra, Bhooj ... ..	150
Thaker Kallianjee Pitamber, Bhooj ... ..	150
Utamram Nurbheram, Rajkote ... ..	148
Nagindass Brijbhokhundass, Rajkote ... ..	150
Bai Kumribai of Bilkha, Rajkote ... ..	150
Anundlal Hurridass, Karbhari of Bilkha, Rajkote ... ..	150
Cooverjee Coyajee, Rajkote ... ..	150
Dhunjeeshaw Hormusjee Karaka, Rajkote ... ..	150
Rao Saheb Gopaljee Soorbhoy, Rajkote ... ..	150
Jagannath Itcharam, Rajkote ... ..	150
Desai Chagan Bhaichund, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Chaganlal Sontokeram, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Bhaichund Shamjee, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Jaeyatilal Venilal, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Jeevunbhoy Nanabhoy, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Purbhashankar Gowrishunkar, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Vajyashankar Gowrishunkar, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Vithaldass Samuldass, Bhownuggur ... ..	150
Walla Sooraj Gunga, Shareholder of Judpore, Judpore ... ..	150
Walla Wallera Jussa, ditto, Judpore ... ..	150
Walla Gorkha Meraim, ditto, Judpore ... ..	150
Walla Jiva Gunga, ditto, Judpore ... ..	150
Kessowlal Bhugvanlal, Karbhari, Walla, Judpore ... ..	150
Narayan Dullubbi, Chief Karbhari of Wudvan, Wudvan ... ..	150

	Rs.
H.H. the Thacore of Chitore, Chitore ... ..	150
Bhanjee Kessowjee, Karbhari of Chitore, Chitore ... ..	150
Nursingprasad Hurryprasad, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Nyalchund Roopshunker, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Dewanjee Saheb Luscmishankar Bhai, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Nanamya Saheb of Ahmedabad, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Kohelina Mahaji Saheb, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Bowdeen Meeya, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Dewan Goculjee Sumputram Jahala, Joonagudh ... ..	150
Jamadar Sale Hindee, Joonagudh ... ..	150
H.H. Bahadoorkhanjee, Heir-Apparent to the Nawab of Joonagudh, Joonagudh ... ..	150
H.H. Mohbatkhanjee, Nawab of Joonagudh, Joonagudh ... ..	50

*Bombay Life Members who have Paid Rs. 150.*

Dr. Anunta Chandropa, Bombay ... ..	150
Cursetjee Jehangheer Tarachund, Bombay ... ..	150
Edaljee Rustomjee Soonawalla, Bombay ... ..	150
Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Bombay ... ..	150
The Hon. Justice Nanabhoy Hurridass, Bombay ... ..	150
The Hon. Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, Bombay ... ..	150
Pestonjee Byrawjee Kotewal, Kurrachee ... ..	150

ARDASEER FRAMJEE MOOS,

Honorary Treasurer.

BOMBAY, September 18, 1874.

# RULES.

## I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Article 1.* The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

## II.—MEMBERS.

*Article 2.* The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

*Article 3.* Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

*Article 4.* Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

*Article 5.* Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

*Article 6.* The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

*Article 7.* Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 12., or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 100., which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage) £1 5 0  
Life Subscription ditto ditto 14 0 0  
Annual Subscription (including Journal), in India..... 13 Rupees 8 Annas.  
Life Subscription ditto ditto..... 150 „

## III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

*Article 8.* The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty-three Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

*Article 9.* A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

*Article 10.* The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

*Article 11.* The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

*Article 12.* The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the

## RULES—(continued).

month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

*Article 13.* The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

*Article 14.* At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

### FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

*Article 15.* The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

*Article 16.* The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

*Article 17.* The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

*Article 18.* General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

*Article 19.* A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

### LOCAL COMMITTEES.

*Article 20.* Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

### BYE-LAWS.

*Article 21.* The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

### ALTERATION OF RULES.

*Article 22.* No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

### JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Article 23.* The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

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MEETING AT THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, WEDNESDAY,  
JUNE 9, 1875.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK, K.T., IN THE CHAIR.

PAPER READ BY W. TAYLER, ESQ.,

*The Trial of the Guikwar, with Special Reference to the  
Principle of Publicity therein adopted.*

A LARGE and distinguished assembly took place at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Wednesday evening, June 9, 1875, the occasion being the delivery of an address by Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, late Commissioner of Patna, on "The Trial of the Guikwar, with Special Reference to the Principle of Publicity therein adopted."

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following: Mr. J. Whitwell, M.P.; Prince Iskander Ahmed Khan; General Ommanney; General Colin Mackenzie; General Richardson; General Briggs; Major-General G. Burn; Major-General Jenkins; Colonel Berthon; Colonel Clifford; Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson; Lieut.-Colonel Waddington; Major Evans Bell; Surgeon-Major Bateson; Mr. Hurrychund Chintamon, Agent of Mulhar Rao; Mr. J. C. Parry; Dr. Linton, F.R.C.S.; Mr. P. Venkatakrishnama Naidu; Mr. A. P. Gosper; Mr. Sutherland; Rev. John Hesse; Mr. K. M. Dutt; Mr. M. Dalál; Mr. R. C. Saunders; Mr. R. T. Lattey, Solicitor of Mulhar Rao; Mr. P. Hart; Mr. P. N. Bose; Mr. N. J. Moalla; Mr. J. Davis; Mr. P. M. Tait; Mr. W. B. Colville; Mr. A. L. Mathewson; Mr. A. P. Mathewson; Mr. P. L. Ray; Mr. Campbell; Dr. A. Burn; Mr. H. P. St.-George Tucker; Mr. Pestonjee Bazonjee; Mr. D. A. Davur; Mr. N. D. Francis; Mr. Joseph Benson; Mr. H. R. Shroff; Mr. M. Moloney; Mr. J. Lake; Mr. J. Mason; Mr. J. Jones; Captain W. C. Palmer, Hon. Sec. of the East India Association; Mr. G. W. Jones; Mr. Nagenda Nath Ghose; Mr. A. C. Mitra; Mr. C. J. Prescott; Mr.

Mirza Nuzerullah; Mirza Kalh Ali Khan; Dr. G. W. Laitner; Dr. Taplin; Mr. R. N. Ahmed; Mr. G. S. Manker; Mr. Cursetjee Jehangeer Sarachund, &c.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Napier and Ettrick) opened the proceedings by inviting the attention of the meeting to the address about to be given by Mr. W. Tayler, on a subject which had excited the deepest interest not only in India, but at home.

Mr. W. TAYLER said: Few single events of modern times connected with the administration of British India have attracted such general notice, and given rise to such animated controversy, as the late proceedings at Baroda; and, I may perhaps add, few questions have elicited so many conflicting and antagonistic opinions, not only from the press, but from able and experienced statesmen.

Regarding the whole question, therefore, as one of public interest and importance, I have thought it an appropriate subject on which, as a member of the East India Association, I may venture to offer some remarks, and promote, as I trust I may, some profitable and instructive discussion.

But I would wish, at the outset, to premise, that I do not propose to enter upon the question of the guilt or innocence of the Guikwar. That is a point on which opinions will ever vary, the conclusions drawn depending on logical distinctness, judicial accuracy in testing evidence, or the internal convictions of those who endeavour to form a judgment upon it. Several formidable champions have already crossed swords in the conflict. The *Times*, at a very early stage, pronounced the evidence worthless, and other able men have followed suit. Mr. Fitzjames Stephens, on the other hand, in a series of able and exhaustive letters, has maintained that the evidence was complete and convincing, and was only *apparently* shaken by the learned Serjeant's cross-examination; while the Government of India has recorded its deliberate acceptance of the evidence as satisfactory proof of the crime charged. Who, then, shall decide when doctors disagree? No such presumption will be mine, and I will therefore leave the point—as far, at least, as my humble utterance is concerned—to swell the number of unsolved ambiguities, and test, perchance, the more advanced intellects of the next generation, to whom the depositions of the interesting Ameena Ayah and the mystery of the belt and bottle may become subjects of critical discussion.

Nor do I desire to touch upon any of those points of detail which have formed the subject of pointed, if not bitter, discussion—viz., whether it was wise or politic to form a mixed Commission of English and Native members; whether the *prima facie* evidence in the hands of the Viceroy was sufficient to warrant an indictment of the Guikwar, and the formal

ceremony of a judicial Commission ; or, finally, whether the deposition, when ordered, should have been confined to the offender himself, instead of being extended to his natural heirs. Each and all of these questions are of a nature to give rise to opposite opinions ; they involve no general principle, depend for their solution upon accidental impressions, and, to some extent, on party feeling. With all this I have, on this occasion at least, neither part nor lot, for it is with *principles* only that I am now concerned, and, wherever I do refer to the subordinate incidents of the proceedings, it will be with reference to those principles.

What, then, I now desire to bring to your notice is, that, however much complicated by minor and subsidiary accidents, this is the first and only instance in which a protected or feudatory Prince has, when charged with crime (other than open rebellion against the State), been allowed the privilege of public and open investigation, with the same opportunity of defence as every other individual living in the Regulation Provinces of India is entitled to as an indefeasible right. I need hardly remind this assembly that an old woman who should steal a kedgerree-pot, or a hungry lad who should take unauthorized possession of a bunch of plain-tains, in any of those provinces, would, when indicted, be entitled to a public trial, be confronted with the witnesses, and be fully authorized to entertain, if they could afford it, Queen's Counsel for their defence before they could be convicted. Now, this being the state of our law, on which we not unjustly pride ourselves, I can hardly doubt that the *principle* of public investigation, with all the usual privileges and safeguards which are connected with it, is a principle which every Englishman will approve, and with which, whether prince or peasant, he would not willingly, in his own case, dispense.

Viewing, then, this first wholesome innovation on the system which has hitherto prevailed in the Political Department, I trust we may fairly assume that the procedure in the Guikwar's case is, as far as its *principle* is concerned, the inauguration of a new and righteous system of adjudication, more in accordance with the rights of the individual and the principles of justice, than that loose, hap-hazard style of *ex parte* inquiry which has hitherto been in use, to the grave discredit of the British Government, and the deep dissatisfaction of the parties accused. And if this be so, if this great trial is really the beginning of the end, if public investigation, with its privileges and safeguards, is really henceforth to take the place of the crude and imperfect inquiries hitherto conducted in the Political Department, I feel sure that no intelligent man of the nineteenth century, who has any just appreciation of right and wrong, will fail to welcome the reform with sincere and heartfelt satisfaction.

And, as far as this Association is concerned, we may, I apprehend,



without presumption, congratulate ourselves on the part we have persistently taken in this important matter. Several papers have been at different times read by members, and many interesting discussions on the subject have taken place. The last paper was, I think, read by myself, under the title of "Publicity the Guarantee for Justice," and the discussion which followed showed how strong and unanimous was the feeling of the audience as to the pressing necessity for a change of system; and I have no doubt that, had Mr. Eastwick or Sir Charles Wingfield remained in Parliament, the whole subject would have ere this been ventilated in the House of Commons. On that occasion I made the following remarks:—

"In the Political Department all is different. When cases, either civil or criminal, arise in this field of controversy, whether between rival and contending Princes or between Prince and Government, that wholesome publicity which I have pointed out as the fundamental and living principle of righteous and trustworthy adjudication, is, in most cases, entirely wanting. In a department where intrigue is the daily pabulum of hundreds who surround the Court of the Native Prince, or hang about the purlieus of the Political Agent, and where every question which is a subject of difference or discussion, is more or less tainted with intended misrepresentation and hidden purpose, instead of every step being, as in the Regulation Provinces, openly taken and openly investigated by competent officers, all is, if not secret, at least one-sided.

"But all this refers to the proceedings in India, with which at present I am not dealing. I will not, therefore, dwell any further upon this part of the subject, but merely observe, in passing, that I feel very strongly that the Government will itself see ere long the expediency, if not the absolute necessity, of organizing a tribunal in India which will be qualified to deal with such matters in a mode which will be far more satisfactory both to Government itself and the parties concerned, and far more in accordance with the present condition of the country, the progress of society, and the general requirements of justice. That there are some questions which it will still be necessary to retain for secret and undivulged adjustment, I do not doubt; but all that I would suggest is, that where such cases arise, the Governor-General in Council should assign the reasons for a procedure which should be exceptional, and place them on record. This would prevent any mischievous or premature publicity in matters purely political, and serve to maintain the authority of the Viceroy and the prestige of the Foreign and Political Departments.

"Where no sufficient grounds exist for exceptional privacy, there could be no difficulty in the Governor-General himself relegating, for

“decision or report, any questions that may arise to a competent court, of which some members at least should be judicial officers of experience. That this will ere long be done, I cannot venture to doubt, and the introduction of railways in the territories of the Native Princes will, I apprehend, accelerate the reform.”

And, in addition to these our united efforts, I would wish, with, I hope, a pardonable egotism, to direct passing notice to the separate and independent means which I have at intervals adopted, in the hope of attracting public attention to a subject which I have always regarded as one of the deepest importance to the character of Great Britain, and the future stability of our government, in those critical events which are so obviously looming in the horizon. To this end, I will take the liberty of reading brief extracts from one or two papers that I have written at different times during the last four or five years on this particular question. My excuse for thus obtruding my own exertions on the subject is, that I am anxious to show that what I have throughout endeavoured to impress upon the Government, and all those interested in righteous administration, has ever been, *not* the interests of any particular parties, such as the Nazim of Bengal, or the Nawab of Tonk, or any other Rajah, Nawab, or Chieftain, but the fundamental *principle of publicity*—that principle which, in very truth, lies at the root of all equitable and honest adjudication. And this I have been desirous of placing beyond all doubt, because it is one of the rules of this Association that it will not concern itself with individual cases, and it is just possible that the demon of Misrepresentation, of whose devices I have had some slight experience in my own person, may give a false character to the purpose of these endeavours. The first of these extracts is from a leading article which I contributed to the *Asiatic*, with reference to the case of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, then under discussion:—

“With the details of the arguments adduced on either side we do not here propose to deal; the mistake, perhaps, made by the Nawab has been to overwhelm a busy and preoccupied public with a multiplicity of details which not one in five hundred members of Parliament are likely to read, and not dwelling with sufficient earnestness upon the great principle which underlies all such controversies, and which, if we mistake not, is gradually making its way into the inner consciousness of all honourable and thinking men—viz., that, in these days of unquestioned supremacy of the British Crown, every individual in India, whether prince or peasant, is entitled to fair and to full investigation of his rights, pecuniary or otherwise, before an unbiassed tribunal; and may justly complain if matters of dispute between himself and others (whether those others be individuals or the Govern-

“ment) are entrusted to the final adjudication of fallible men, who, “whether from personal interest or official position, are necessarily “biassed against him. In advocating the vital importance of this “principle, it is not necessary to enter into any invidious details, or to “impute to the deciding authorities any other motive or desire than that “which they conscientiously believe to be consistent with their duty ; “but it would be trifling with common sense and ordinary discernment “to question the fact that in cases like that which is presented for “decision by the Nawab, the bias of all Government officials is opposed “to his claims ; and not one among those who have taken part against “him in the recent councils of the Government could, at the present “moment, enter upon an investigation of the question with those feelings which are indispensable to judicial inquiry. It is impossible for “a nation like that of Great Britain, while ostentatiously boasting of its “higher civilization, to retain a procedure which is essentially *barbarous*. “By our acts, our education, and the practice of our courts, we are “forcing upon the Natives of India codes of law and systems of morality “excellent in themselves, but far in advance of the intellectual condition of the country, while in great questions affecting our *own immediate interests*, we unblushingly keep up (as far as the nobles of India “are concerned) a system of adjudication which sets all these rules and “regulations at defiance, and violates the fundamental principles of “justice. Were it not for the unhappy state of ignorance which prevents many members of Parliament from gauging the true character of “the proceedings which such a system engenders, the instinct of every “gentleman in the House of Commons (save those whose minds were, “perhaps, insensibly biassed by official or semi-official prejudice) would “have compelled him to vote for the only thing demanded in the present “instance—a Committee of Inquiry—and excited indignation rather than “approval when the stale and stereotyped cry of ‘The Viceroy in “danger !’ was raised by the representatives of Government. We do “not now enter into the arguments employed by either side. Beyond “all doubt, the question is one on which there may and will be conflicting opinions and diverse views ; but this is the very reason why, “in so important a question, a deliberate, unbiassed, and impartial “tribunal should be called in. The true meaning and interpretation of “treaties, the effect of solemn and deliberate pledges, the acts of Government and public functionaries, the accuracy of the legal opinions “recorded by such eminent men as Sir Roundell Palmer, Mr. Leith, “and Vernon Harcourt,—these and similar questions, closely affecting “as they do the principles of justice, the honour and reputation of the “Government, and the plighted faith of Her Majesty the Queen, are

“not matters to be cast aside by ill-timed satire or contemptuous sarcasm, but to be honestly and conscientiously investigated by competent and impartial judges. It is a mere truism to repeat that no judges are either competent or impartial when investigating matters in which their interests, their position, or their prejudices are concerned; and it requires little penetration to foresee that, in the present day, the rough and ready mode of trial and decision, which was safe and probably appropriate in days of uncertainty and struggle, is now not only inappropriate and unsafe, but fraught with a peril which may doubtless lie dormant for a time, but will as doubtlessly be exhibited when a ‘convenient season’ arrives. Those who oppose fair and honest inquiry, as calculated to bring Her Majesty’s Viceroy into contempt, may speak conscientiously and according to their convictions, but they are not the men to whom the interests of our great dependency and the honour of the British Crown can be safely entrusted.”

The next occasion on which I had an opportunity of discussing this particular question was in a small pamphlet on “Indian Reform,” which I published just before the Committee of Parliament commenced its sittings in 1872. I then thus wrote :—

“It is probably known to all who know anything about British India, that in the territories actually belonging to the Crown, and which are technically called the Regulation Provinces, the Government has voluntarily placed itself on an equality with its subjects, suing and being sued as a private individual both in the revenue and civil courts.

“But in all cases arising between the Government and Native Chiefs or feudatory Princes, where any dispute arises either between two of the Chiefs themselves, or between a Chief and the Government, inquiry is conducted, from first to last, in what is called the ‘Political Department.’

“There is in these inquiries neither publicity nor equality of status. In most cases the officers conducting the investigation are honourable and conscientious men, anxious to do justice, and seldom wilfully biassed in favour of one party or another; but they are *men*, and their power is almost unlimited. They are usually surrounded by corrupt and venal subordinates, to whom the inquiry is simply a gambling transaction, in which, whoever wins, they gain. There is no control of public opinion. There is a natural and unconscious bias in favour either of the Government which they serve, or of the Chief with whom they are connected, and it is a mere chance whether their decision is just or unjust.”

Again, in another pamphlet, called "Justice in Excelsis," after alluding in similar terms to the unsatisfactory system of secret inquiry, I ventured to suggest, in outline, the reform which I believed might be safely adopted without any risk of weakening the authority or lowering the prestige of the Viceroy. These are my words:—

"But it would be unfair to notice this system of political justice without also noticing, at the same time, the arguments used in its defence. These arguments may be summed up in a few words. First and foremost, it is said that the retention of this despotic power, which enables the British Government thus to cast all judicial principles to the wind, is essential to its prestige; that if, in the event of disputes and controversies arising between the Government and its feudatories, the investigation of such controversies were relegated to ordinary judicial tribunals, the majesty of the Governor-General would be dimmed! And, secondly, that it would be inconsistent to give the Chiefs the privileges of British subjects, while such privileges are denied to the millions of their people, over whom they exercise supreme jurisdiction.

"But these are, after all, but paltry and delusive pretexts. As to the first, I would observe, what must be patent to all, that the relegation of a trial to a British court of justice, when made and directed by the Queen's Viceroy, cannot, by the utmost ingenuity of perversion, be construed into a derogation from the authority either of the Viceroy or the Crown. Those who, like myself, are horrified and shocked at the procedure now in force, have never, as far as I can ascertain, suggested or advocated the substitution of any process which could in the slightest degree circumscribe the authority, or in any way lower the power and prestige (if I must use that misused word), of the Indian Government.

"I would not propose that chiefs and feudatories should either be subjected to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, or that they should *suo motu*, and as a matter of right, and without reference to the Government, be entitled to bring any question before them. This would, undoubtedly, tend both to the discredit and discomfort of the men themselves, and to the diminution of the Viceroy's status.

"I will, then, here briefly mention the system which, speaking in general terms, I would suggest, as one calculated to secure the ends of justice, and, at the same time, to prevent the scandal of secret and irresponsible adjudication. Without entering for a moment into the details—which will, of course, be duly considered should any change in the system be adopted—I would present, as an outline, to be filled in by experts in the politico-judicial line, the following sketch:—

“ When any question like those mentioned in the two cases which I have merely given as illustrations—*i.e.*, any question of civil right or criminal delinquency—arises, I would suggest that, in the first instance, the Governor-General in Council should take the matter into consideration. If there really are any actual, *bonâ fide*, and urgent reasons why the investigation of the matter should be covered over with the impenetrable pall of political mystery, let him, with his Council, so declare and record, assigning the reasons—subject to the ruling of the Secretary of State, if an appeal is preferred from the order. Should there be no such pressing necessity for dispensing with publicity—that element of justice which ought to be honoured with a modern apotheosis—then, in the name of civilization, honour, and honesty, let the Governor-General, as a civilized, honest, and honourable gentleman, transfer the matter for open and public investigation to a competent and impartial tribunal. Let him set aside the juvenile lieutenant, the ambitious captain, and efflorescent colonel, and allow the question to be sifted and reported upon according to the enlightened rules of evidence and those principles of justice which the English nation has approved and established, and on that award let his decision be passed. In short, let ‘publicity,’ save where special circumstances forbid, or where the parties themselves object, take the place of secrecy. Let evidence be watched and sifted, let judicial principles be observed, *let right be done!*”

Having said thus much in respect to the general principle of publicity, and shown, as I trust I have, that the action taken by this Association in its discussions and by myself, both at the meetings of our members and on every other possible opportunity, has had reference *solely* to the establishment and recognition of that principle, as underlying all proceedings of a judicial character, I will only add that I regard the procedure adopted in this case as a wise and enlightened reform, for which the highest credit is due to Lord Northbrook. It is in entire keeping with the whole course of his administration, exhibiting independence and firmness, combined with consummate practical wisdom; and I am glad to see that the measure has in many quarters elicited strong evidence of admiration and approval.

The early incidents of this administrative drama are probably familiar to most of the gentlemen here present, but for the benefit of those who may possibly not have followed them with attention or retentive memory, I will here briefly repeat them.

Some time ago, rumours of the mal-administration of the Guikwar's Government having become rife, a Commission was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the circumstances. After due in-

vestigation, a return was submitted to the Government, in which, although some of the reports were held to be exaggerated, sufficient was established to induce the Viceroy to address the Guikwar on the subject, to express his grave displeasure, and to allow him a term of eighteen months for the reform of his administration. While the inquiries of the Commission were still in progress, some ten months yet remaining of the probational period allowed, Colonel Phayre, the Resident, reported by telegraph to the Indian Government that an attempt had been made to poison him—an attempt which he attributed to the Guikwar himself. An inquiry was then instituted through the police, under the direction of Mr. Souter, the well-known Superintendent of the Bombay Police. A certain amount of evidence was procured through their agency, confessions were made by parties who were *participes criminis*, direct evidence was given against the Guikwar, and the proceedings were then forwarded to the Government of India. A Commission, consisting of three Native and three English members, as all the world knows, was then appointed for the investigation of the charge preferred against the Guikwar. The Guikwar, having been placed under arrest, was invited to defend himself. He engaged the services of one of the most able members of the English Bar; at the close of the investigation the report of the Commission was forwarded to Government; and after a short interregnum of contradictory rumours, it was eventually found that, of the members of the Commission, the three Native gentlemen held the evidence insufficient, the three English Commissioners held that the crime was proved.

From this point commenced what, in common parlance, I may call the "muddle" which has excited so much hostile criticism; and it is to the circumstances which have led to the apparent inconsistency—or, as some affirm, dishonesty—on the part of the Government, that I would wish to ask your special attention. While various and conflicting reports were in circulation in regard to the result of this inquiry—and it was commonly asserted that there was a difference of opinion between the English and Native Commissioners—a proclamation appeared in the papers bearing date April 25th, in which the Viceroy, under the title of "Her Majesty's Government," after briefly recapitulating the events which had occurred, and referring to the established fact of the mal-administration of Mulbar Rao, passed sentence of deposition against him, while at the same time the proclamation declared that this sentence had not been based on the result of the investigation which had taken place, or on any assumption of the Guikwar's guilt of the special crime on which he had been tried.

This proclamation excited a general feeling—a howl, I may almost

call it—of surprise and indignation. A chorus of critics at once took up the question, and, with good reason, exclaimed against the inconsistent and anomalous sentence.

It was said, and with great show of justice, that, having been charged with a specific crime, subjected to a judicial investigation, and, as appeared from the proclamation itself, the charge not having been proved, the accused Prince was morally and legally entitled to an acquittal, and consequently restoration to the *status quo ante* until, at least, the period of probation had expired.

And it is impossible not to see that these criticisms were just and reasonable *at the time*; and, had nothing further transpired, had the subsequent and more detailed resolution of the Indian Government left unchanged the statement that the finding of the Judicial Commission formed no basis for the sentence passed—that is, in other words, that there was, in the opinion of the Viceroy, no sufficient evidence to establish the charge on which the Guikwar had been tried—the sentence of deposition would have been justly and logically regarded as a breach of faith, and an act of official tyranny. The concession of a public trial would have been deemed a mere sham to give decent semblance to a foregone conclusion, and this first instance of a mode of inquiry, in itself so desirable, might for all future time have been clouded by the obvious inconsistency of the finding, and the unquestionable injustice of the result.

And it is still to be apprehended that, although Lord Northbrook's subsequent resolution has entirely altered the position of things, it will be a long time before the unfavourable impression created by the first proclamation will be removed, and the public brought to see the facts as they really are.

Why that intermediate proclamation was issued, and from what quarter it emanated, is to me unknown. I can only treat it as I read it, and reading it, I can only perceive that it is the sole cause and origin of all the sensation, all the embarrassment, and all the scandal, which has for weeks past disturbed the world (at least, that limited world which interests itself in Indian affairs), and that its effects have been only nullified by the subsequent resolution of the Indian Government.

And if any should ask how it is that the second resolution removes the scandal caused by the previous announcement, the answer is clear. The resolution contains the distinct declaration that the Government of India accepts the verdict of the three English Commissioners, and holds the guilt of the Guikwar on the specific charge on which he was arraigned to be clearly established.

Now it is obvious, and beyond all dispute or controversy, that in



such a case it was the bounden duty of the Viceroy to act upon this deliberate judicial conclusion, and it is equally indisputable that, so acting, the minor question of general mal-administration was—to use a familiar expression—“nowhere.”

I hardly think that any sane individual, certainly no reasonable statesman, can, at the present moment, venture to say that the Viceroy, holding this opinion, could have restored the Guikwar! Only let us imagine Lord Northbrook coming before the world and saying, “I and my colleagues hold that the Guikwar has endeavoured to poison the British Resident, but as he has still ten months of the time formerly allowed him to reform his administration, I will allow him to retain his power until then!”

But it has been said, and there are probably some who will still say, that, as the Guikwar was publicly tried, under certain judicial forms and rules, the verdict of the Commissioners not being unanimous, and three of them having considered the evidence insufficient, the accused was entitled to the benefit of the doubt, and ought to have been held innocent in the absence of an unanimous finding to the contrary. But such reasoning, as it appears to me, is based on the idea that the inquiry was in all points a judicial trial, and the Commissioners in the position of a *jury*. But this was, surely, not the case. The inquiry was entrusted to a Commission for public investigation and *report to the Viceroy*. Precisely the form of investigation which I had myself ventured to suggest. Both investigation and report were for the satisfaction of the Viceroy; and although it would, doubtless, seldom happen that the Government of India would set aside such a finding, when the Commissioners were unanimous, and there was no cause to suspect prejudice or foul play, there can be no doubt that the Viceroy, on his own responsibility, and for reasons to be recorded, would have full liberty to override even the unanimous finding of the Commissioners and pass his own orders.

And who can doubt that such a procedure as that directed in the present case is a wise and wholesome system, infinitely superior to the usual political inquiry?

Who can compare the practice under which a Prince or Chieftain accused of crime—possibly by some personal enemy or intriguing subordinate—was subjected to a secret and irresponsible investigation, doubtless honestly and honourably conducted, as far as the supervising officer was concerned, but altogether unprotected by those ordinary privileges which the common consent of civilized mankind has agreed in regarding as essential to the security of justice,—who can for a moment compare such a procedure with that which, in the case of the Guikwar,

was for the first time ordered, and which, as far as the general principles are concerned, conforms to all that civilization and a love of justice demands, and which, if it had not been disturbed and clouded by the accidental complications by which this procedure has been beset, would, I venture to say, have been greeted with the applause and approbation of all intelligent men?

I sincerely hope, therefore, that, while we lament these accidental complications, we shall not allow our minds to be diverted from the important reform, for the first time introduced in the criminal proceedings, which affect the character and *status of the Princes of India*.

But there is another feature in Lord Northbrook's proceedings which I feel I ought not to pass over without a tribute of admiration, and that is the assurance, publicly enunciated by him from the commencement, that, even on proof of guilt, deposition of the Prince would *not be followed by annexation*.

Addresses of public gratitude on this open and unhesitating assurance have, I perceive, already been presented to the Viceroy, and it is an unspeakable relief to those who are jealous of England's honour to see their best hopes confirmed, and their apprehensions dispelled, by so prompt and unreserved an enunciation.

So many are still living who were carried away by the captivating territorial greed of Lord Dalhousie (so aptly named "earth-hunger" by the graphic historian of the Sepoy War), that the full iniquity of the system of wholesale spoliation which, under the specious name of "lapse," spread distrust and disaffection throughout India, has scarcely yet been fully recognized; and there are some who, having tasted the sweets of territorial annexation, still hanker after excuses for further prey, and looked, perhaps, upon the Guikwar's dilemma as affording a hopeful opportunity of aggrandizement; but there is, I trust, little cause for fear. The principle of interference with hereditary descent, whether by the natural or adopted heir, has been publicly repudiated by Her Majesty's Viceroy, and the repudiation emphatically ratified by Her Majesty herself; and now that honourable and assuring disavowal has been practically upheld by Lord Northbrook. Keeping, therefore, our eyes upon the two great principles so openly maintained by Lord Northbrook—namely, publicity of trial, and security of princely rights—principles which are far too important to be affected by the accidental embarrassments of this particular case, I will now offer some few observations on the proceedings of the trial itself, and, without reference to the question of the guilt or innocence of the Guikwar, or any other of the practical details of the subject, will note only those circumstances

which may be said to be of some interest to the public, as connected with criminal trials in India.

The peculiarities of such trials are little known to English gentlemen, and, when the preliminaries are manipulated in the earliest stages by Native police, many—even among Anglo-Indian functionaries—are only half initiated in the mysteries of the performance.

The recent trial has been useful in this respect at least, that it has exposed, more prominently than has yet been done before the English public, the questionable proceedings so ably denounced by Serjeant Ballantine in his cross-examination. When I say “questionable proceedings,” I do not wish to cast any imputation on Mr. Souter, the Superintendent of Police, whose high character places him above suspicion, but merely desire to show what grounds exist for distrust in regard to the interference of the police, and how readily, and indeed justly, criticisms to their disparagement are accepted.

As all knowledge is useful, and as the English are not especially celebrated for their acquaintance with Eastern peculiarities, it may not be uninteresting if I here show by authentic records what the feeling of the highest judicial tribunal is on the subject of police reliability :—

(*Extract from Calcutta Review*, Vol. xxviii., 1857, pp. 480-1.)

“In the volume before us we find case upon case in which confessions said to have been made before the police, or before the magistrates, were taken as evidence by the Courts, although those who are said to have made them afterwards repudiated them, and, on their defending themselves to the utmost, even to the sending the case up to the Sudder in appeal. It is to us incredible that people should, without any motive or inducement, make statements endangering their own life or liberty merely for the sake of repudiating them as soon as made.

“The following extracts show pretty clearly the amount of reliance which, in the opinion of the Sudder Court, ought to be placed on their confessions, and, indeed, on the police generally. They show that the Sudder judges are, on the whole, careful in the use made of confessions, though they are not quite so much so as they might be. The rule the Court lays down, but which is by no means strictly attended to, is that, to justify the conviction of a confessing prisoner, his confession must be supported by strong corroborative evidence: ‘The confessions, in our opinion, are not calculated to remove the impression that the police have got up the evidence in this case, and with nothing before us to justify reliance on any part of it, even as to the

“ ‘death of the woman, we must acquit all the prisoners’ (p. 18, Jan.).  
 “ ‘As confession itself is no evidence against the prisoner, his guilt is  
 “ ‘by no means satisfactorily established’ (p. 62, Jan.). ‘We cannot,  
 “ ‘upon his confessions alone, unsupported as they are by any circum-  
 “ ‘stantial evidence, concur with the Sessions Judge in convicting the  
 “ ‘prisoner’ (p. 203, Feb.). ‘*The case has evidently been got up by the*  
 “ ‘*police. The whole case appears so like one that has been got up by the*  
 “ ‘*police, that . . . lead us to regard the recorded confessions with*  
 “ ‘very great suspicion, and prevent our upholding the conviction’  
 “ (p. 828, June).

“ We quite agree with the Deputy Commissioner, that there is good  
 “ reason to believe the prisoner’s confession in the Mofussil was *not*  
 “ ‘voluntary; and with such an impression on our minds, we cannot  
 “ ‘allow the repetition of that confession when brought before the Assis-  
 “ ‘tant to prejudice the prisoner.’”

Now, with this index as to the reliability of police preparations, as  
 viewed by the highest Indian Court; we are better able to judge of the  
 evidence given at this remarkable trial by the witnesses, all of whom  
 were brought out “hot and hot,” as it were, from the embraces of the  
 police.

I say nothing here of my conclusions as to the effect of this evidence  
 in regard to the specific charge which formed the subject of the trial;  
 but I may point to the established character of police elaboration to  
 show how difficult is the task of a presiding judge to arrive at any satis-  
 factory conclusion on evidence thus questionably constructed, and, con-  
 sequently, how, on this very account, it is doubly important that all  
 investigations in criminal trials should be public.

Another peculiarity—confined, I fancy, altogether to the Native  
 idiosyncrasy—is the practice, so unintelligible to a sturdy Englishman,  
 of voluntary or quasi-voluntary confession of crime, whether real or  
 imaginary. I myself, when sitting as a magistrate in India, once had a  
 prisoner before me who confessed to murder, every detail of which was  
 graphically described and deliberately confirmed by eye-witnesses, when,  
 just before passing sentence, there was a hubbub at the door of the court,  
 and the dead man was brought in, certainly somewhat scared, but as  
 thoroughly alive as mortal man can be !

What is the mysterious process by which such confessions are pro-  
 duced, it is difficult to divine, but that it is a phenomenon by no means  
 rare in Her Majesty’s Eastern possessions is beyond dispute, and forms  
 another item in the exceptional difficulties of judicial investigation. I  
 have ventured on these observations because criminal trials in India,  
 especially when they are filtered through the fingers of the police, form a

special phase of judicial romance, of which the ordinary Englishman has but slight perception.

But if these proceedings offer some insight into the reliability of police procedure, they have also exposed to view what, in all my efforts to establish the importance of publicity in criminal trials, I have invariably mentioned—viz., the abominable system of espionage and intrigue which exists in the purlieus of a Political Resident's territory, and which more or less necessarily tends to generate cabals, and parties to suggest false accusations and obscure the vision of the English officer.

It is almost amusing to find that, whereas one of the minor charges against the Guikwar himself was the exercise of espionage over the proceedings of the Resident, the cross-examination of Serjeant Ballantine brought out the fact that, if this system was in vogue with the Guikwar, a counter-system was carried out, with quite as much regularity, under the nose of the Resident himself.

This reminds me of a circumstance which occurred to myself some years ago, just before I left India. Being, in the course of that new career which I was driven by persecution to enter on, engaged in the conduct of a controversy between a Native Maharajah and his brother, I was one day surprised by my client bringing me a packet of copies of private, *very* private, letters to and from his antagonist; on my expressing my surprise, and asking how he could contrive to gain possession of such important private documents, with the utmost nonchalance he said, "Oh, this is our custom; we always have a spy in their dufter, and they have one in ours. It is the *dustoor*" (custom).

Now these incidental features of Indian character, however unimportant they may seem to the casual observer, are closely connected with the important question which forms the subject of my present paper; for it must be patent to all intelligent men that in a country where truth is not at a premium, where police interference is such as to induce our highest courts to regard it as fatal, and where, as in the Political Department, intrigue and conspiracy are rife, every obstacle is placed in the way of the ascertainment of truth, while the judge (so called) is frequently an inexperienced young officer, with little or no judicial knowledge,—it must, I say, be patent and beyond dispute that publicity in investigation—which, in the eyes of all civilized nations, is essential to just and impartial adjudication—is the only safe and effectual course to be adopted. It is on this ground that I have thought it advisable to touch briefly upon these minor incidents, as presenting some interesting facts in connection with the great principle involved.

In concluding this paper, I would wish to summarize in a few words the object which I have had in view. For years past this Association,

at its meetings, in the lectures of its members, and the general discussions which have taken place, has consistently advocated the substitution of public for secret investigation in the case of Native Princes ; while I myself, as far as my humble efforts are concerned, have never omitted an opportunity of advocating in words and writing the same wholesome reform, being deeply convinced of its importance.

In the present case, whatever may be the accidental complications which have arisen, whatever the blunders or misunderstandings which have tended to obscure the real character of the reform, the fact is undisputed that, for the first time, Lord Northbrook has had the courage and determination to inaugurate a system of public responsible adjudication, in which the accused, although a Prince, has been able to confront his witnesses and obtain able assistance in the conduct of his defence.

For this, as, I trust, the inauguration of a new and righteous system, I venture to affirm that Lord Northbrook is entitled to the highest praise from all those who regard justice as the foundation of righteous administration, gratitude from the Princes and feudatories throughout India, who may now fairly regard the secret system as at an end, and, as far as my humble judgment is concerned, some expression of acknowledgment from this Association.

I will only once more beg that my hearers will, in their own minds, and in any discussion that follows, remember to separate the reformed procedure itself from the casual complications and collateral blunders with which it has been unhappily surrounded, and, while criticizing the practice, will not close their eyes to the excellence of the principle.

Mr. TUCKER said he might be allowed to have some claim to speak upon the subject under consideration, for he had taken part in the preliminary proceedings, which, happily for his people, have resulted in the deposition of this "poor persecuted Prince," as some seemed to think him. For more than thirty-two years he had served in Western India, for seven years he was Judge of the High Court, and during the last five years he had been member of the Government of Bombay ; and he believed he might say that he knew as much about the recent events at Baroda as anybody at present in England. He would confess to being rather disappointed at the form in which the matter had been introduced by Mr. Tayler, as he had been led to suppose that the learned gentleman had intended to urge the complete innocence of Mulhar Rao, Guikwar ; but the essayist had not gone to that length, and he (the speaker) would commence by stating that there were many points in which he quite agreed with Mr. Tayler, and that

he had no doubt that for some classes of cases it would be extremely desirable to have an independent tribunal, and he might add that he believed that neither the Local nor Supreme Governments of India would be opposed to such an innovation; but the difficulties in the way of the erection of such a tribunal were much greater than was commonly supposed. In what was called the Political Department in India there are three classes of business. There is first the ordinary diplomatic business between State and State, done by the Foreign Office, and quite distinct from any judicial or other proceedings. Then there is the business between the British Government, as the paramount Power, and the smaller States of India. Some of these States resemble, roughly speaking, the ancient kingdoms of Germany, as Hanover; others are mere baronies, as it were, like those existing under the feudal system in Europe. Cases of disputed jurisdiction frequently arise between the British Government in India and these States—questions relating to property and individual rights; while there are also cases of a purely political character, not relating to or affecting individual rights or property. Then there is a third class of business, which may be said to lie between the other two,—questions arising between the two Governments as to land or to boundaries; and in these cases the paramount State has a direct personal interest in the settlement; and hence it would be desirable to have a tribunal independent of the Government to adjudicate on such cases. The Indian Government would not object—would rather be delighted—to refer these disputes to an independent third party for arbitration; but then the question arose, How are you going to get this tribunal? Where is the money to be got to obtain the high-class judges who would be necessary in such a Court? At present the resources of the Government of India are not equal to the obligations which they are bound to perform and the expenditure which they are compelled to make; and a tribunal such as is proposed could not be created without very considerable expense, because it ought to sit in India, as there alone could be obtained the local knowledge and practical acquaintance with the local customs which could lead to a proper and just decision. The only other way would be to relegate the whole function to the new Court of Appeal, which will already have sufficient work to do. The speaker proceeded to say that, notwithstanding these difficulties, he was, nevertheless, quite at one in thinking that the greater portion of the judicial business which devolves upon the Central and Local Governments in India might be left to a tribunal; and he said this, not because he thought that under the present system anything but substantial justice was done, although, as with all human institutions, mistakes were probably sometimes

made. The creation of such a tribunal, if it did nothing else, would at least relieve the unfortunate men upon whom the duty of deciding these cases at present devolved. He spoke feelingly, because one of his duties had been to decide upon these cases, and it would have been far easier for him to have had each case properly argued before him by qualified advocates, instead of the labour being imposed upon him of perusing elaborate pleadings, all written out and full of irrelevant matter, involved in style and voluminous in matter. This work had nearly killed many men, as it had nearly killed him. If, as he understood from Mr. Tayler's address, that gentleman impugned those decisions, or hinted that the Government were improperly influenced in making them, he could only heartily and earnestly repudiate the charge. (Hear, hear.) The decisions were based on elaborate pleadings prepared by barristers of great skill, and every point of importance, as well as a great number of no importance whatever, were brought forward, and adjudication was never made until after a most exhaustive and pains-taking inquiry. The chief evil was the great labour imposed upon the judge who had to go through the pleadings. These being the simple facts, it could be honestly and truly said that the first principles of justice were strictly observed by means of the system at present in vogue. (Hear, hear.) It was not for the sake of the want of justice that the proposed tribunal was needed; but he would freely admit the principle that in points where the interests of Government were involved a disinterested arbiter should be called in. As regards the region of diplomacy, he was entirely at issue with Mr. Tayler. Nobody in this country would be disposed to recommend that all the cases that came before the Foreign Office should be brought under the notice of a legal tribunal, and he did not see why it should be asked of the Political Department in India. He did not wish to enter into any discussion as to the wisdom of the Indian Government or the Cabinet at home in this business of the deposition of the Guikwar, but he would venture just to say that he believed that, with the most honest and upright intentions, mistakes of a grave character had been made—(hear, hear)—not from a desire to do injustice, but from a hesitation to carry things to their logical consequences. (Hear, hear.) The papers now just printed by order of the House of Commons showed that ample evidence was taken by the first Baroda Commission to justify the removal of Mulhar Rao from the *Gadi* at that time; and if he had been deposed on that report, the result would have been popular throughout Western India, and there would have been not a whisper of complaint. The subsequent irritation and discontent had, to a certain extent, been occasioned by the hesitation and vacillation of the Govern-



ment of India to adopt the course of action that was necessary; for it was certain that in Baroda there had existed a most arbitrary system of government and misrule; that there was no security for life or property; that there were good reasons for believing that people were assassinated in gaol, and that women were stolen for slavery or dishonour.

Mr. LATTEY (Solicitor of Mulhar Rao) interjaculated that this was disputed, and hence to assume its truth was to libel the Guikwar—a proceeding which he thought unfair and un-English.

Mr. TUCKER, proceeding, said he would maintain the absolute truth of what he had said, and added that he did not blame Lord Northbrook for appointing a Commission to inquire into the charge of poisoning Colonel Phayre which had been brought against the Guikwar, although he admitted he did not approve of the Native Commissioners selected. As for the result, any one carefully reading the evidence could arrive at no other conclusion than that the Guikwar did attempt to poison Colonel Phayre. Mr. Tayler had read extracts from the *Calcutta Review*, to show that police evidence was not to be trusted. This was quite unnecessary, for nothing was more certain than that all the Indian courts were in the last degree suspicious of police evidence. Nobody could have been more fully aware of the dangerous character of police evidence than Sir Richard Crouch, the President of the Commission; and yet that judge, with all the caution and discrimination that he is known to possess, came to the clear conclusion that the charges put forward by the police were fully established against the Guikwar. In conclusion, Mr. Tucker repeated his conviction that, whatever blunders may have been committed, substantial justice had been done; and he had no hesitation in saying that it was an unspeakable benefit that such an abominable ruler as Mulhar Rao had been placed where he could no longer oppress and misrule about two millions of Natives of India. (Cheers.)

Mr. LATTEY solicited the opportunity of addressing the meeting. He did not intend to speak as an advocate, although his relations with his Highness of Baroda were of that nature; but he proposed to offer a few remarks on the lecturer's view of the general question as to whether or not the Government of India ought to allow in so-called political cases a trial in public. Well, his own view was that the Government ought certainly to allow it; but it should be a *real* trial, and that was what the recent proceedings at Baroda were not. He certainly imagined that he was instructed to defend a man on his trial, and that he was not appearing before a Commission without powers of adjudication. He would now emphatically repeat, that when he instructed counsel to appear

before the Baroda tribunal it was with the entire belief that it had the power to give a judgment. Instead of this, however, it was found to be purely a Commission—that is, it *afterwards* proved to be so ; and the proceedings were not, in any natural sense, a trial. This was not the place to enter into the question whether the evidence taken before the Commission was sufficient to prove guilt or not ; he merely wished to remind the meeting that the Government of India now say that their intention was that this Commission should be a court to collect evidence, and the Government reserved full right to come to the ultimate decision upon the evidence thus afforded. Now he submitted that if they were to have a tribunal to try such cases, it should be a tribunal conducted on intelligible principles—principles which could be understood by Englishmen—principles of law and justice, which they professed to be anxious to introduce in India. Mr. Tayler praised the Government for their action, inasmuch as it was a “public” proceeding. But what does publicity mean at a trial ? It means that open procedure which Englishmen believe goes far to insure the due administration of justice. Public opinion forms its own estimate of what is going on, and will correct the adjudicators when they go wrong. But was this a “public” trial in this, the only natural and legitimate sense ? (Hear, hear.) Ordinary English notions of law and fair play dictated that a man accused of crime should have the benefit of any doubt ; and surely this should have been applied to his Highness of Baroda. Mr. Tucker urged that an adjudicating tribunal could not be allowed to intercept the desires of the Imperial Government ; and further, that the establishment of such a tribunal was a question of money. But what was money when the real point was the government of millions of people ? If the Government of India really wanted an independent tribunal, there would be no difficulty in establishing one, and nobody would contend that questions which involve State policy should be submitted to such a court ; but when a question arises as to the guilt or innocence of an individual charged with an offence against another individual, this was surely a fair subject for the judgment of an independent court ; and the same reasoning applied to many minor cases involving disputes respecting the internal government of Native States. Questions such as these might fairly and reasonably be relegated to an independent tribunal. (Hear, hear.) He would go a step further, and contend that if such a tribunal is to be established, it must be governed by established rules of evidence and procedure which all lawyers could understand ; for lawyers were bound by a system of practice and procedure, and consequently, when instructed to defend an accused, they knew what they were preparing for, and acted accordingly ; and the

result was that, in the vast majority of cases in this country, the decisions were just and satisfactory, because they were based on "legal" evidence. But if the new tribunal is to be the mere conduit-pipe of the Government, what would be the use of addressing the Commission by counsel, or arguing on the evidence? That the defence assumed and believed the Baroda Commission to have full powers was shown by the fact that counsel were employed and the evidence analyzed by both sides. Mr. Lattey concluded by thanking the meeting for the opportunity afforded of expressing his views.

Major EVANS BELL thought it would be a most disastrous thing if a meeting of the East India Association to consider this very important question should separate after arriving at the general conclusion or opinion that the conduct and practice of the Government of India and of Her Majesty's Government in the matter of the Baroda Commission is deserving of approval or admiration. Mr. Tayler, in his admirable address, had, in point of fact, recommended something which has not been done, and has brought forward a principle which has been repudiated by Lord Northbrook. On the other hand, while Mr. Tayler has eulogized the form of the Government's procedure, the Hon. Mr. Tucker—who has every qualification for expressing a sound opinion—comes here, and, in very plain terms, deprecates the "hesitation" and "vacillation" of the Government; and although Mr. Tucker was of opinion that substantial justice had been done in the decision, his description of the attitude of the Government was obviously more near to the exact truth than Mr. Tayler's view. For his own part, although he might have formed an opinion as to the merits of the Guikwar, or as to his Highness's guilt or innocence in this particular case, or as to the proof or want of proof of his attempt to poison the Resident, he would submit that this was not the question for discussion now; and hence he regretted that Mr. Tucker had introduced so much matter which was totally irrelevant to the subject for consideration. Whatever might be his own opinion on these points, he would not express them, but he would say that all he could see to praise in the policy and practice of the Government of India in the Baroda business was a weak atmosphere of good intentions and an equally weak desire to obtain the appearance of popular support. He did not himself object to a high-handed and masterful policy in matters of this kind, because he had always contended that there was no such thing as an independent State or Prince in India, in the proper sense of the word; but what he did object to was the carrying out by strong means of a weak policy—weak logically and morally. (Hear, hear.) We are told that in this case there was a "fair and open tribunal;" but what is the use of a court in which the verdict is not in the slightest

degree valid? We have all heard of the process said to have been much in vogue in wild and troublous times, when irregular authorities did much as they would, of hanging a man and trying him afterwards. This was *not* what was done with the Guikwar. No; he was tried first, found not guilty, and then hanged. (Hear, hear.) Or, to put the matter more accurately, the verdict was equivalent to the Scotch "Not proven"—(hear, hear)—while the extreme penalty of guilt was inflicted. Such a course could hardly be considered creditable to any Government, least of all to the Government of India. (Hear, hear.) The manner in which the Government carried out the idea of trying the Guikwar entirely destroyed any grace or dignity which they gained at the outset, and which they might have permanently secured by a careful conduct of an open investigation. The fact was that the Government considered the evidence which it had collected so irresistible that the Commissioners were merely called in to stamp a preconceived judgment, and thus give a semblance of justice to the matter by a nominal trial of the Prince by his peers; but the moment it was seen that the Commissioners opposed and impeded the verdict, they were pushed aside, and Mulhar Rao was deposed, not as a guilty man, but as a generally objectionable person. (Hear, hear.) The new experiment on which so much effusive praise was bestowed came practically to this—that the Government appeared to have considered the victim could not possibly escape, and so they thought they would give him law; but when they found he was escaping, they forthwith sprang upon him, and knocked him down. (Hear, hear.) He repeated his opinion that this was not creditable on the part of the Government. The British Government should have done one of two things—act boldly as the Paramount Power, or abide by the forms and rules of law. In either case it would have found admirers and adherents, but in its present course of doing neither the one nor the other, nobody would be satisfied. (Hear, hear.) Let there be either a royal fiat or a judicial finding, but do not let us have what can be called neither a royal fiat nor a judicial finding, but what must seem like a hypocritical hybrid, combining the bad features of both special pleading and rank despotism. (Cheers.)

Mr. JONES said he was glad the question of the Guikwar had been brought forward, as he considered the Indian Government had practised a scandal on the British nation. In England we have endeavoured of late to establish the principle of arbitration in preference to war, as instanced in the Alabama Arbitration; and now the Indian Government had thrown ridicule upon the principle by the course they had adopted. When Peter the Great had an Ambassador in England, one of his servants was seized for debt, but, on the testimony of the Ambassador, an

immediate apology was demanded, with the alternative of war. If our Ambassador at the Court of the Guikwar was treated with indignity, it was equivalent to the Sovereign being treated with indignity, and was therefore a matter upon which war might occur. But the policy of arbitration was adopted by Lord Northbrook rather than war, and he determined to lay the matter before a properly-constituted tribunal for arbitration. That tribunal gave him no authority to commit the offence of deposition, and had he respected the finding of that tribunal, the matter would have remained unsolved. He (Mr. Jones) thought that the calling in of the independent Princes to judge the case and then treating their judgment with disrespect, was to perpetuate an insult, which would have justified a declaration of war on their part, for a man's honour is as necessary to be maintained as his property. If England, after having submitted the Alabama claims to arbitration, had refused to accept the result, the other Powers represented would have had to combine to compel England to submit. The Native Princes had been insulted, and they might have done the same. At all events, they could not, in any future case, be asked to assist in arbitration, nor would there be henceforth any hope amongst the Natives that the Government would acknowledge the judgment of any similarly constituted tribunal. This he regarded as a serious matter, for there are independent Princes who can turn the issue of war and teach us that there is independence in India. We should therefore be careful how we insult the weak, as he considered had been done in the case under review, which, in his opinion, showed incapability on the part of the Government of India.

Mr. WHITE (late Advocate-General, Bombay) said the questions for discussion were, whether publicity in matters arising between the Government of India and other subordinate Governments was beneficial, and whether the acting upon that principle had been shown to be in any way inexpedient from what had occurred in the course of the Guikwar's case, in which it was admitted on all hands that sundry grave mistakes had been made. In the general principles laid down by Mr. Tayler he quite concurred, with the limitation that in certain cases, and for reasons which should be recorded by the Central Government, an inquiry might always be secret. The method referred to, of disposing of questions in the Political Department without publicity, led very often to dissatisfaction. There were a great number of cases (some of which had been mentioned by Mr. Tucker) dealt with by that Department which it would be desirable to submit to a legal tribunal. If, in such cases, any of the judges of the High Court could be directed to investigate and report, or decide, as might be considered best, with the accompaniment of publicity, it would be advantageous; but, as Mr. Tucker had said, the obstacle

to such a course was the want of money. One of the speakers had said the want of money was a very subordinate and paltry difficulty, but the want of money was really the chief drawback to the more perfect and complete administration of the affairs of India. From the lack of money wherewith to pay for the separate discharge of duties, responsibilities were, at the present time, crowded upon men already overworked. With regard to making publicity the general rule, he (Mr. White) saw no objection. In questions of an ordinary and minor character arising between the Government of India and the feudatory Princes, it would be of great service, and would tend to suppress dissatisfaction; but in cases involving charges of treason and misgovernment, it would be exceedingly difficult, and sometimes altogether inexpedient, to hold a public inquiry. He now came to the question, "Was there anything in the case of the "Guikwar which showed that the Government were wrong in allowing "publicity?" He thought not. Speaking personally, he would say that, from reading the evidence and the speeches of counsel on both sides, he had received considerable satisfaction, as it convinced him of the correctness of the conclusion at which the Government had arrived. He might have remained in doubt but for that publicity. Now, in consequence of that publicity, he had been able to follow the case and satisfy himself as to its merits, and therefore he agreed that publicity in that case had been rightly allowed. (Hear, hear.) Mistakes had been made, and that alluded to by Mr. Lattey was one. The general impression on the mind of the public was that the Commission was not to be an ordinary inquiry, but a judicial trial, in which a conclusive verdict would be given. That impression got abroad, and the Government were not sufficiently careful in checking it. They ought to have stated in the most positive terms that it was merely an inquiry—something to satisfy the conscience of the Viceroy, and of a nature similar to a Royal Commission in England—something on which future action might be taken, but which would not decide the question. Another mistake was in issuing the proclamation they did, and not acting boldly upon the resolutions of the Viceroy's Government. But notwithstanding those errors, there could be no doubt that the cause of publicity had not been injured by what had taken place, and that Lord Northbrook was deserving of thanks for introducing the principle. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BANERJEE observed that every Native gentleman present must have been highly gratified by the way in which Mr. Tayler had introduced a very interesting subject. (Hear, hear.) He would not enter into it further than to remark that a very formidable objection had been raised by Mr. Tucker to the formation of the public tribunal suggested by Mr. Tayler, to the effect that it could not be introduced for

the want of money. That might be an objection, but it was not an insuperable one. The only thing necessary was to impress the Government of India with the necessity and importance of having such a tribunal as that advocated in the able paper they had listened to, and he had not the slightest doubt the money would be forthcoming. He asked, was there an instance in which the Government had ever been compelled to forego anything on the ground that money was not obtainable? He did not believe there was any such instance. We are just on the eve of a war with Burmah, and would any gentleman dare for a moment to assert that the money would not be forthcoming? Only lately, a high office with a salary of 10,000*l.* a-year had been revived. He alluded to the Minister of the Public Works Department in the Governor-General's Council; and although they had managed to do without such an office for a large number of years, it no sooner dawned on the minds of the Government to revive or create it, than the money was forthcoming. With reference to this very appointment, Mr. Fawcett had asked a question in the House of Commons, and, as a friend of India, he was justified in doing so, in the face of a deficit in the Indian revenue. The scheme for a tribunal, as set forth by Mr. Tayler, would conduce to the safety, the stability, and the popularity of the British power in the East, and the money ought therefore to be forthcoming. Those gentlemen who had already spoken had entered into the question of the guilt or innocence of the Guikwar, although that was quite irrelevant to the subject under discussion. (Hear, hear.) He would abstain from touching upon that point, but would offer a few observations upon the character of the tribunal which had conducted the inquiry. Mr. Tucker had eulogized Sir Richard Couch as being eminently qualified to discern the value of Native evidence. He might have said equally as much for the Native Princes, for, in his (the speaker's) opinion, they were better qualified to judge the worth of the evidence. They understood the language better than it was possible for a European to do, and they knew exactly the inner workings of the Native mind, and could therefore best estimate the evidence given. This was a fact upon which great stress should be placed in regarding the result. Another point was that the Native Commissioners were said to be partial to their countryman, the Guikwar. He would not enter into the question of the guilt or innocence of the latter, but would state his conviction that the Native Princes were as capable of giving an impartial opinion as the English Commissioners, two of whom were servants to the Government. Besides, the Native Princes on the Commission were in the position that they would desire to please the Government. Scindia was particularly in that position. They were therefore bound to give a favourable verdict, if they could do so con-

sistently with the facts brought before them. That being the case, and the Native members of the Commission having been selected for their character for uprightness and honour, it was hardly courteous that their decision and themselves should have been spoken-of in the manner that he was afraid had prevailed during the discussion.

Mr. K. M. DUTT (Bengal) remarked that the policy of Lord Northbrook had been condemned by public opinion in India, and also in England, if the press might be regarded as the exponent of public opinion. One of the satirical papers here had given the policy the name of "Lord Northbrook's Oriental Pickle," which he was perfectly sure would not be relished in England, and that no amount of advertising would create a market for that pickle, which, he believed, was relished only by a certain class of Anglo-Indian gentlemen, whose taste had been acquired in India, in a climate quite different to that of Great Britain. (A laugh.) In regarding the policy of deposing the Guikwar, one thing ought to be taken into account, and that was that, in setting up a new Guikwar, they had upset the Hindu law of adoption, which provides that no woman can adopt a son without the consent of her husband.

A VOICE : This is not the case in the whole of India.

Mr. DUTT repeated the remark.

Mr. TUCKER : You are under a great mistake.

Mr. DUTT, however, adhered to his statement, and proceeded to say that, by the Hindu law, the new Guikwar would not be a Hindu Guikwar, but more probably the adopted son of Lord Northbrook, and would, in all probability, be styled by Hindu Princes Guikwar Northbrook. (Laughter.) The Guikwar he believed to be a Hindu Prince, and therefore the Hindu law of adoption applied to him. That had been set aside, and although there was no fear of immediate consequences, he (the speaker) thought the remote consequences of the policy had not been sufficiently considered by the Government. The policy would create alarm among the Princes of India. It was true that India has made great progress under British administration, and that her commerce, her revenue, and her agriculture had increased at a very rapid rate ; but the first condition of the future development of India depended upon the Princes as well as the people having implicit faith in the Government and the British nation. Every act or policy of the Government which shakes, or tends to shake, the confidence of the Natives must therefore be condemned by every true friend to India. This, he considered, was the tendency of the action of Lord Northbrook, although his motive was a good one—viz., to get rid of a Prince whom he considered to be an oppressor of his subjects. If that was the case, the British Government, as the paramount Power, has the right to



depose any Prince who was a tyrant. If England had deposed a tyrannical Prince, the whole civilized world would have approved the act; but the question was whether the Guikwar was really a tyrant or not. He had read the greater part of the Blue-book on the subject, and found that Mr. Tucker had there written minutes differing from his statements that evening.

Mr. TUCKER: I deny that to be the case.

Mr. DUTT proceeded to say that Mr. Tucker had advocated the policy of forcing the Native Princes to institute a kind of constitutional government, but that evening he had expressed implicit approval of the policy of Lord Northbrook. He (the speaker) would sit down with the remark that that policy could not be approved by true friends of India, simply on the ground that its remote consequences might be something very, very dangerous, for if the Native Princes had their suspicions aroused and became alarmed, it was quite possible for a mutiny or a revolution to occur, which, considering the fact that the Indian Princes possess an army amounting in the aggregate to 355,000 men, supported with something like 3,000 guns, would be a very serious matter, and would greatly retard the development of the country.

Mr. TAYLER then rose to reply, and said that, having confined himself to the principle of publicity in connection with the trial of the Guikwar, he was not prepared for the discursive and sensational remarks that had occurred in the discussion, and he certainly did not expect such alarming things as had been introduced by the last speaker, or to have elicited such an idea as that of the new Guikwar being called Lord Northbrook's adopted son. But it was with satisfaction that precluded regret that he regarded the fact that almost all those gentlemen whom he considered authorities on such matters had agreed with him. Mr. Tucker himself, though feeling somewhat warmly in regard to the Guikwar, and having official prepossessions, thought the principle of publicity might be introduced with advantage, although his reasons were not quite so philanthropic as his (Mr. Tayler's), as he remarked principally upon the trouble it would save the officials. Mr. White had also confirmed what he had advanced, with limitations, which he readily admitted to be essential, as there are secrets of department and diplomacy which must always be reserved for the secret purlieu of Government. Mr. Lattey, who was peculiarly situated from having been engaged in the Guikwar's case, also approved the principle of publicity, although holding that the tribunal which tried the Guikwar ought to have had a final judgment. He (Mr. Tayler) had recommended that the report of the tribunal he had suggested should be submitted to the Governor-General, being of opinion that a high-minded man, such as the Governor-

General always is, would never depart from the decision of the tribunal. In the case of the Guikwar, there had been the complication of three Asiatic peers in the tribunal, and this had imported into it a little difficulty; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the Governor-General, having relegated any matter to a judicial tribunal ably and wisely constituted, would abide by the decision. He did not attribute much weight to the fact that the present case was not final, nor did he agree with Mr. Lattey that it was a mockery of justice on that account. The examination of witnesses, and their cross-examination by Serjeant Ballantine, was no mockery, nor was the general procedure of the Commission open in any sense to that term. He asked anybody who criticized the matter on the side of the Guikwar, what would have been the result supposing Mr. Tucker had conducted the inquiry?

Mr. TUCKER: I should not have done so.

Mr. TAYLER, continuing, said that he was merely supposing the case to have been in the hands of the Political officers. Would the Guikwar then have had the ghost of a chance? He had had the ghost of a chance under the Commission, and why anybody should object to that tribunal on the part of the Guikwar he could not conceive. Reviewing the discussion that had taken place, he (Mr. Tayler) congratulated himself that all whose opinions were valuable agreed with him on one point, and that was, that where any criminal acts are imputed to a feudatory Prince, or where the status or pecuniary interest of the Native is in antagonism to the interests of the Government, the Government should not be prosecutor and judge in their own case, but that there should be an impartial tribunal under the grave responsibility of judging according to right. It may be questionable whether there should be a right of appeal, such as to the Privy Council. One thing had been said in the discussion which he did not quite agree with; he alluded to the intermediate proclamation in the Guikwar's case. He had no knowledge of whence it came, but it was this which had caused what is called a scandal. If Lord Northbrook's final resolution alone had appeared, giving the recorded opinions of the members of the Commission, with a declaration that he accepted the opinions of the English members, and had good grounds for doing so, nobody would have said a word, since he was bound to come to some conclusion. It was the intermediate proclamation alone which could form the basis for the use of the words "weakness" and "vacillation" by Mr. Lattey, and it is for Parliament and history to show how that proclamation intervened. In order to show the difference between political and legal judgments in a matter affecting property, he would refer to a case in which he had happened to be concerned, and in which the difference

was most prominently and marvellously marked. Thirty years ago the Indian Government took possession of the arms and accoutrements, even to trousers and coats, belonging to the Begum Sumroo, declaring it was their property, although she had paid for it. Litigation went on for nearly thirty years, the claim being for something like half a million. However, all the Indian Courts accepted the plea of the Government, that it was a political act, and therefore no judge had a right to entertain the question. But, about two years since, the case came on for appeal before the Privy Council, and two Chancellors and three eminent Judges laughed the political plea to scorn, and decreed the payment of 160,000*l.*, being 30,000*l.* with interest at 12 per cent. for thirty years, to a lady now living in London. Look at that political act, defended and held good by every Court in India, but reversed by the Privy Council. Would one farthing ever have been paid to the appellant for the misappropriation of her property had the case remained in the Political Department? He mentioned this matter as a striking instance of the difference there must be where Government interests are opposed to Native interests, and where the inquiry is kept within the purlieus of the Political Department, instead of being decided by responsible judges acting in the sight of the public. (Hear, hear.)

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK then rose, and said that he was sure he was but representing the feelings of all who were present when he expressed his appreciation of the valuable essay read by Mr. Tayler. That gentleman possessed special advantages in offering an opinion upon the important subject before them, as from a long experience in an official capacity he was enabled to look at it from an administrative point of view; and, on the other hand, having practised in India as a free advocate, he had been brought extensively into contact with Native interests, and could therefore look at the question from a wider standpoint than falls to the lot of most officials. He regretted, however, that, in dealing with the question of institution of tribunals to decide between the Government and the governed, he had not endeavoured to classify the different descriptions of cases which might arise, and to point out how each particular class of cases might be best dealt with. This was a subject upon which he (the Chairman) had not bestowed much attention. It had not come before him in a prominent manner when in India, nor had he ever had occasion to take it into serious consideration since; at the same time it appeared to him, after listening to the paper and the discussion, that three classes of cases became distinctly evident. First, he would place the class of questions arising between the English Government and Native States in various stages of independence, and in which the interest of the English is distinctly apparent: for instance, questions

of the amount of tribute due to the Government in virtue of treaties, or questions of frontier territory in dispute, or the right of lapse on the part of a Native State to the English Government, or the right of succession and adoption in which the English Government are interested, or disputes as to right of succession between rival claimants. In all such cases Native interests are at issue with those of the power in the State, and he could, therefore, see no reason or argument against the establishment of some arbitral court to deal with them, and with all cases that do not ascend to high political or diplomatic importance. He thought it impossible for any one who had governed in India not to feel the position to be a painful one in being so frequently called upon to decide between Native interests and those of their own country. This would be obviated by the institution of some form of arbitration, which should meet with the respect and confidence of the Natives. Such a court might be composed of delegates from the highest judicial councils in the three Presidencies, and its decision should be absolute and final, otherwise there would be a rankling sense of injustice remaining. The second class of cases offer much greater difficulty—that is to say, criminal, or quasi-administrative criminal cases, like the late case: a Native Prince suspected of being guilty of a criminal action towards a British subject or representative, or guilty of criminal acts of a personal nature towards his own subjects. Would it be possible to constitute a criminal court for the trial of Native Princes under such circumstances, and how far would it be consistent with the status of the British Government and with common law? He hesitated to decide this question; but if it is competent for the Viceroy to constitute and issue anything in the form of a tribunal to try Native Princes in that position on a criminal charge, in anything approaching to the English form of law, in his opinion the decision of that tribunal should be final—(hear, hear)—and ought not to be subject to reversal by the Supreme Government, because if it were it would neither command nor enjoy respect, or give satisfaction. The third class of cases are those of a purely political or diplomatic character—such, for instance, as the conduct of a Native Prince who should assume, generally speaking, an unfriendly or aggressive tone towards the paramount Power, or who should support an immense or threatening military establishment, or engage himself in negotiations or alliances of an inconvenient or threatening nature with other Princes or Asiatic Powers, or should endeavour to place himself, if possible, in relation with European States. How is the Government to deal with questions of this nature, or cases of mal-administration and the stirring up of discontent? In all such cases absolute power must be entrusted to the Viceroy. It is impossible for any kind of court to be constituted

as a mediator between the Viceroy and a Native Government or Native Prince of the first class under such circumstances. We must allow such matters to be decided by the Government of India, under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government in England, feeling assured that no substantial injustice will be permitted. His lordship concluded by saying that, the hour being late, he would not enter into the discussion of the various subsidiary points raised by the several speakers, but would, in the name of the meeting, tender thanks to Mr. Tayler for the very interesting paper he had read. (Applause.)

Mr. LATTEY moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. TUCKER, in seconding it, took the opportunity of explaining that there was no discrepancy or inconsistency between what he had said in the discussion and what he had written in the form of official minutes, as had been hinted at by Mr. Dutt.

The motion having been put and carried unanimously, the meeting terminated.

### *India and England.*

#### ADDRESS TO MR. E. B. EASTWICK.

ON Tuesday evening, June 22, 1875, an address was presented by the Council of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association to E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., &c., ex-M.P. for Penrhyn, and Chairman of the Council of the East India Association in London. A public meeting was held on the occasion in the hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, and there was a very good attendance. Among those present were the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Mr. Justice Pinhey, the Hon. Rao Saheb Vishwanath N. Mandlik, Dr. Codrington, Dr. H. V. Carter, Dr. Weir, Dr. Narayan Daji, Dr. Gomes, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Dr. D. Dulputrao, and Messrs. W. Martin Wood, T. B. Kirkham, C. A. Gumpert, Macpherson, J. A. Forbes, C. A. B. Forbes, J. Macfarlane, Kemp, E. M. James, J. Hutchinson, D. Gostling, Dadabhai Naoroji (late Dewan of Baroda), Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, Khunderao C. Bedarkar, Rughunath N. Khote, Dinanath Rughunath, Dhirajlal Mathooradas, Thakurdas Atmaram, Vijbhokandas Atmaram, Ghellabhai Haridas, Ghanasham Nadkuree, Vishram Ghanasham, Bhasker B. Joshee, Morarjee Goculdas, and others.

On the motion of Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD, the Rev. Dr. WILSON was called to the chair, and in opening the proceedings said : Gentlemen, —I feel that in one respect it is quite unnecessary to introduce Mr. Eastwick to your attention. He has been before our eye ever since he

left this country, and all who are present in this room are acquainted with his sayings and doings. It is only because I happened to be his oldest European friend in this place that I ventured to comply with the request made to me by the committee, and also in a proposition passed at this meeting, to preside on this interesting occasion. I was introduced to Mr. Eastwick, who came to this country in 1836, by a very honourable family in Bombay, the family of an officer of an Indian regiment who was greatly distinguished, General Dickinson, and I had an opportunity of confirming my acquaintance with Mr. Eastwick when we were both living together as invalids at Mahableshwur. On that occasion we were engaged in some literary pursuits, and on that occasion also we had some adventures which I have not forgotten, and which I suppose he has not forgotten. One evening, when exploring that part of the hill which is called by the name of one of our Governors, an immense tiger came rushing out in the direction of Mr. Eastwick. At the moment it was going forward I happened to make a false step, and, partly in joke and partly in earnest, I roared out, and the animal was diverted from its movement by the noise I made. I am sorry, however, to say that it was very destructive in its operations on the whole. It was then the cold season, when few Europeans were resident on the hill. We went home by the safest path, and on the way we came upon some intelligent gipsies, and we advised them to bring in their children, thinking that as the tiger was out at that early hour, four o'clock in the afternoon, it must probably be very hungry. That night the brute destroyed a man, the next night it killed a woman, and, just as if studying variety, it next killed a child. I shall just finish the story before going further. I went to the sanitarium and found there five or six gentlemen sitting over their dinner, and I appealed to them to assume the courage natural to them as Englishmen and to destroy the tiger. Next day they went out and succeeded in bagging it. It was not, however, through adventures of this kind that Mr. Eastwick and I became intimate, but by the literary engagements in which we were connected. Three or four years after Mr. Eastwick came to this country, he passed not only in the Hindustanee language and in the Mahratti language, but also in the Persian language, and he passed in them altogether in a superior manner. It is mentioned in the memoirs by Mr. Fuller, edited by Mr. Eastwick, that Mr. Eastwick's brother was the most distinguished scholar with whom he was acquainted, and I think he might have said something similar of the present Mr. Eastwick if he had known him. We know that when Mr. Eastwick left this country he sought its good. After leaving India in 1843, he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in the East India College of Haileybury, and had an opportunity of obtaining great

distinction. There he edited important works in the Persian and Hindustanee languages. He afterwards found his way to Persia, where, in the office of *Chargé d'Affaires*, he spent his time in a profitable way, which I believe was to the benefit of the nation; and he was also engaged in important matters connected with Central Asia, on which much useful information has been communicated by Mr. Eastwick in Parliament, and may be communicated at this meeting—at least, my own desire is that he should do so. He found his way also into the Western continent, and published an important work on one of the districts of South America. It would not be too much to assert that very few officers indeed have rendered such services to literature as Mr. Eastwick. He has come to Bombay at present in connection with a book published by Mr. Murray—a handbook to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies—and I am happy to learn from Mr. Eastwick that it is his intention to take up those parts of India on which he has not yet collected information or written a handbook. The work which he has written embodies in itself a mass of information which would be eminently useful to a traveller. The information it contains is extremely correct. There are no rash statements made in it. There are some handbooks to this country—I am not referring to any local publications, but to those which appear in London—which perplex the traveller instead of being a guide to him. I congratulate India on the return of Mr. Eastwick on the mission on which he has appeared among us. I am most thankful to see him here this evening, and I anticipate that all here present will receive from him such information as will be interesting and beneficial to them. (Cheers.)

The following address was then read by Mr. JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR, one of the Honorary Secretaries:—

To E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.,  
*Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.*

HONOURED SIR,—As members of the principal Branch in India of the East India Association, with which institution you have been so prominently and so serviceably connected from its establishment, we desire to bid you welcome to this country, and wish you God-speed in the public service you have spontaneously undertaken in your visit to India.

2. Looking back to the many occasions on which, not only in direct connection with the work of the Association, but also in your place as Member of Parliament, you have put forth your best efforts on behalf of India and its people, we hail your presence amongst us with hope and encouragement. With hope, because your example may serve to incite other independent English politicians to visit this country, and study the

wants and claims of its people as subjects of the great British Empire ; with encouragement, because we trust that your tour will give occasion for a wider and fuller appreciation than has yet obtained in eastern and northern India of the catholic and progressive spirit in which the East India Association seeks to promote the welfare of Her Majesty's Eastern dominions.

3. From observations made during your tour, you will be able to gather many suggestions that may be useful to the Council of the Association. Everywhere you will perceive a steady, though, it may be, a very gradual growth of political intelligence and influence amongst the middle and upper classes of the Indian communities. The fact of this advancement will lead you to renewed consideration of the problem, so often brought to the notice of our Association, how can this intelligence and patriotic social influence be more freely utilized in the great work of administration ?

4. After your intercourse with experienced public men here, both within and without the official circle, you will be able the better to appreciate the proposition, that, as the British Empire owes so much to this country, England is bound to render India some aid in alleviating the onerous financial burden of foreign rule ; and you will, perhaps, be better able to judge whether such aid should be given by the British Exchequer directly bearing a portion of the "Home" Charges, or by guarantee of debt and other alleviating assistance in connection with our loan liabilities. The transfer of Indian Government from Company to Crown has been followed by an enormous addition to the payments annually remitted to England by the Indian Treasury—amounting to thirteen millions sterling in the year 1873-74—and also to the current charges absolutely expended there. Thus it must be seen by yourself and other thoughtful men connected with the Council of our Association, that it is high time responsible British statesmen began to take a closer interest in, and broader view of, Anglo-Indian financial relations from an imperial standpoint.

5. Amidst much that is encouraging in this country, you cannot avoid meeting with unmistakable signs of the chronic poverty in which large classes of the people are living ; and, as a member of this Association, it will be matter of concern with you to note, as far as your opportunities permit, the characteristics and causes of that poverty, with a view to suggest and promote such remedial measures as may be applicable to the present condition of the people of India.

6. On the other hand, you come at a period when the Imperial Government, as represented by the Viceroy and Secretary of State, and the local authorities, represented by Sir Philip Wodehouse and his



Council, have each given proofs of their anxiety regarding the material wants of the people. In Western Bengal, where drought had exhausted the food of the population, relief was administered with a lavish hand, so that, almost for the first time in Indian history, an imminent famine was entirely averted. This great manifestation of State generosity, however, has done nothing towards ameliorating the chronic poverty of the people in Bengal.

7. In Western India a steady fall in prices of agricultural produce has taken place within the past eight years, and that fall still continues. As a direct consequence of this, the condition of the ryots in several districts of this Presidency, especially those in which revised settlements of land have resulted in enhanced rates of assessment, has been such as to afford grounds for alarm, and render immediate relief absolutely necessary. About the close of last year the Government of Bombay had this subject under their consideration, and the result was an important declaration of policy. By Resolution No. 5,739, dated the 29th October, 1874, Government laid down limits within which the revised rates of assessment were to be imposed. For this change in the land policy the agricultural classes felt very much indebted to the Government of Sir Philip Wodehouse. It afforded them an indication of the liberal spirit in which the Government was prepared to deal with them in the exigencies of their present situation, and led them to hope for a final solution, at no distant date, of the vexed question of the respective merits of periodical and permanent settlements. If the resolution had been carried into effect, not only would the ryots have obtained that present relief the necessity of which was grievously proved by thousands of small farmers having thrown up their holdings and sunk into the category of labourers rather than pay the assessment, but it would have afforded to the cultivator of Western India some special safeguard which he has so long needed. It was hoped, too, that the operation of this beneficent policy would not be confined, as proposed in the resolution just mentioned, to the Deccan Collectorates, but would be at once extended to the districts of fertile but unirrigated Gujerat, where the need for some similar dispensation is not the less urgent, the Koli cultivators of that province having been already brought to the verge of destitution, as the records of the Collectorates and the processes of the Civil Courts would amply testify.

8. We now regret to have to state that the hopeful anticipations expressed in the last paragraph have not been fulfilled, and the good intentions manifested by the Bombay Government in October last have fallen short of accomplishment. The revision of rates of the new and enhanced assessments then resolved upon has not been carried into effect,

and recent disturbances between the ryots and money-lenders in the re-settled talookas of the Poona District afford painful evidence of the need for searching inquiry and substantial alleviation of the land revenue charges. It is believed, though not fully known to us, that the suspension of the Bombay Government's well-considered resolution of October last is due to the interposition of the Supreme Government, which had, possibly, become apprehensive of the financial consequences likely to follow from the policy of definitively limiting the rate of advance in the land assessments of this Presidency. To an impartial visitor and observant politician like yourself this interference by the Central Administration with the application of remedial measures, long called for and tardily granted by the Local Government, must appear as one of those anomalies in the system of Indian Executive rule which demand close and anxious consideration from Anglo-Indian politicians.

9. The large expenditure which has saved Behar from famine, and the check which must now be acknowledged in the formerly advancing land revenue of Western India, are facts of the day which should prompt prescient statesmen to consider anew the financial ways and means of the Indian Empire. As the Secretary of State pointed out last year, no appreciable addition to taxation can at present be counted upon, and few of our public men see their way to any considerable diminution in our military expenditure—the only direction in which retrenchment would be sensibly felt. On the other hand, you probably share with many prominent members of this Association in England in the opinion that there is scope and need for large reproductive outlay in water conservancy and means of cheap communication, if only methods can be devised whereby those works could be economically and profitably carried out.

10. Turning to one of the encouraging aspects of the day, you will find both here and in Bengal an expanding movement towards mechanical industry and manufacturing progress. In Western India the extension of cotton-mills, and in Bengal of jute-mills, promises profitable occupation for capital, and provides in the neighbourhood of the manufacturing new occupation for the labouring classes. In Bengal, especially amongst European capitalists, fresh efforts are being made to utilize the deposits of coal and iron which India possesses. The manifest advantage of thus securing at our own doors the materials needed for extensive mechanical operations cannot fail to strike you, and probably may induce you, through the Council of the Association, to urge on Government the desirability of liberally undertaking those few first steps which are so necessary in India to the development of new industrial enterprise. Due facilities have at length been afforded for the extension of tea cultiva-

tion in Assam and Northern India, and the rapid expansion of that industry is very gratifying.

11. The approaching visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales cannot fail to stir anew those strong and lively feelings of loyalty, so natural to the people of this country, which bind their affections to the throne of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. We are glad you are likely to have an ample opportunity of tracing the operation of this benign and salutary influence. India knows no party; and though its interests are often neglected in Ministerial programmes, your name serves to recall those of many others on both sides of either House of Parliament who, like yourself, have ever been ready, when occasion offered, to bespeak fair and generous consideration for the people of this great dependency, who have no direct and formal representation in the British House of Commons. It is by recognizing the special value in the imperial system of representatives like yourself, thoroughly well acquainted with Indian affairs, that British constituencies can do honour to themselves and inestimable service to us; and we trust that, after your present mission to this country shall have been accomplished, you may speedily find your way back to the House of Commons, there to renew your efforts on behalf of India.

12. The East India Association has no set formula to promote, no theoretical line of policy to enforce. Its members desire nothing higher or more comprehensive than that the principles of Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 shall be faithfully applied and steadily carried out. Towards accomplishing the objects comprised in that truly Royal Charter, much vigilance is still needed and many efforts are required. The constitution of the Association is well adapted to subserve these ends, and we earnestly trust that you will meet with such a response in the various cities you may visit, as will elicit increased co-operation in its work, and a more intimate union between the European and Indian subjects of Her Majesty in the promotion of those substantial political ameliorations and those material and financial improvements in which all classes are deeply interested. It is in this spirit, Sir, that we desire to bid you welcome to the shores of India, and to the great city of Bombay.—We are, honoured Sir, your most obedient servants,

JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YAJNIK,  
KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG,

*Bombay, June 22, 1875.*

Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. EASTWICK, on rising, was loudly cheered. He said: I have listened with the greatest interest to the admirable and statesmanlike address which you have done me the honour to

present to me, and I heartily thank you for it. It has added to what was before an almost extreme sense of the gravity of the task I have been asked to perform, because it has shown me the high degree of intelligence and the sound patriotic feeling by which my attempts to perform it will be judged in this country. I have come, as you have rightly stated, "to study the wants and claims of the people of India as subjects of the great British Empire, and to endeavour to diffuse a wider and fuller appreciation of the catholic and progressive spirit in which the East India Association seeks to promote the welfare of Her Majesty's Eastern dominions." Now, some persons may perhaps be inclined to think that at no time was an inquiry as to the work of India less needed than at the present moment; for, as you have also with great truth observed, I have come "at a period when the Imperial Government, as represented by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and the local authorities represented by Sir Philip Wodehouse and his Council, have given proof of their deep anxiety regarding the material wants of the people." When India is fortunate in having such rulers as these, who deal and have dealt with every question in a spirit of benevolence commensurate with their great ability, of what use, it may be asked, are the investigations of private individuals, except, indeed, for the purpose of self-instruction? On the other hand, there are those who would reply to such objections as these by saying that it is not the men that are placed on the highest eminence who possess the keenest perception of what is going on in the low level of every-day life beneath them. Their view is extended, but it cannot be minute. We know that a microscopic power of observation is confined to the humblest creatures, and that divinity which, we are told, doth hedge great personages, forms, it may be feared, a very inconvenient barrier in the way of their acquiring accurate information. I have often heard it alleged, in the discussions about India to which I have listened, that there is a sort of sacred glare which more or less surrounds all official persons in the East, however desirous they may be of learning the truth, and dazzles, if it does not scare, those who approach them, so that the wants and claims of the people of India are very imperfectly understood, if not altogether misconceived, and that if they are ever come to be really known, it must be by their being disclosed to those in whom the people have complete confidence. If, therefore, my visit to this country is to be of any real use, you must obtain for me this confidence; and since I am here as an independent observer, with the sole object of making myself of use to England by acquiring and imparting accurate information about India, and to India by making it better known and by carrying out the wishes of its people, should I be so fortunate as to regain a seat in Parliament, I trust that the confidence I ask for will be vouchsafed.

## THE LAND REVENUE.

And now with respect to the several points of administrative and financial policy touched upon in your able address, you will not, I think, on this occasion expect any exposition of my views. I come to learn and not to teach, and I wish rather to be guided by your suggestions and advice, than to express opinions of my own. There is one subject, however, of such paramount importance and of such pressing inquiry that I am drawn, in spite of myself, to refer to it as you have done; I mean the land settlement. The last official statement of the moral and material progress of India says very truly that "the welfare and contentment of the people of India depend upon the wise adjustment of the demand on the produce of the land," and it seems difficult to understand how such wise adjustment can be compatible with the expenditure and vexatious uncertainty inseparably connected with periodical re-assessments. The intentions recently indicated with regard to the land revenue by the Bombay Government, however they may have been arrested, are, no doubt, very satisfactory, but if the fabric of our Empire is to be fixed on an immovable foundation, and if the minds of the masses are to be so thoroughly tranquillized that they will devote their whole energies and the bulk of their savings to the extension of cultivation, it must be done by settling the pillar revenue of the State, the land rent, once and for ever on a safe, simple, and moderate basis. This much will, I suppose, be admitted by all, but how to accomplish such a settlement is the most difficult problem with which the Indian Government has to deal. At p. 446 of the Blue-book which contains the proceedings of the Indian Finance Committee for 1873, will be found the replies of Lord Lawrence to Mr. Fawcett on this subject. Mr. Fawcett is against a permanent settlement, Lord Lawrence is in favour of one. Mr. Fawcett urges that, owing to the influx of the precious metals and to other causes, prices must necessarily rise and increase the expenditure of Government by higher payments for salaries and wages and enhanced prices of stores, and that if the land revenue be immutably fixed, inasmuch as it has been proved that other sources of revenue are inelastic, it would be impossible for Government to meet these increased demands. Lord Lawrence replies that under a permanent settlement the circumstances of the cultivators would be increasingly prosperous, and they would thus be both able and willing to purchase irrigation, and that irrigation rates would make up some part of the deficit, and an increase of customs' duties and, in case of an emergency, the re-imposition of the income-tax would supply the rest. I confess that this answer appears to me unsatisfactory, and my mind inclines to the solution of the problem suggested by Sir William Muir, that the amount of the demand on the produce of the land should be fixed, but its value be liable to be varied at

long intervals according to an average of prices taken over a series of years, and without the expense of re-assessment. This I believe to be the principle of the Tithe Commutation Act 6 and 7, William IV., c. 71, which has been found to work well in England. But the question is one of great difficulty, and in alluding to it here I am rather indicating a point on which I seek for information than venturing to express at present any opinion of my own. I will only add on this subject that I observe the money-payment system compared with the payment-in-kind system has been put down among the desiderata for discussion before this Association, and I regret that the question has not been gone into by some member having the ability and the leisure to furnish an exhaustive examination of it. The reference I have made to Mr. Fawcett and the Indian Finance Committee leads me to say that the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Ayrton, considered the mass of evidence too vast to be dealt with by any single member. His intention, therefore, was to propose that each member should select a subject in which he was specially interested, and prepare a resolution upon it. That method of drawing up a report did not commend itself to my mind. I thought that a report so drawn would turn out to be a patchwork worthy only of that eccentric statesman of whom we are told that he was

“A man so various that he seemed to be  
Not one, but all mankind’s epitome!”

Another probable result would have been that we should have had resolutions to abolish every item of revenue except that from land. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, for example, would certainly have framed a resolution for abolishing the opium monopoly and the opium trade; the members for Manchester would have swept away the import duties, others would have combined against the salt-tax, and we should have had nothing left but the land-tax pure and simple, and then it would have been sought to impose the burthen created by these abolitions on the branch of industry which ought to be kept most free—the cultivation of crops. I therefore, rashly and presumptuously it may be, but at all events conscientiously, resolved to attempt to draw up a report myself, and as a first step I set to work to summarize the whole evidence, but before I could complete the analysis which would have reduced the two thousand some hundred pages to about a hundred, and yet would not have omitted, I believe, a single remark of importance, Parliament was dissolved and I lost my seat. The Indian Finance Committee, however, which sat last session, expressed a strong desire to have my analysis, but they were met by the difficulty that there were no funds to pay for the printing. The East India Association might, perhaps, have undertaken to publish it, but they had the same difficulty of a want of funds. The Association, in fact, might

print many things, might do many things which would be of service to India, but it is crippled by a lack of means. It is true that by the patriotic liberality of Western India—that is, by your liberality—the Association has now taken its place among established institutions, or, if I may be allowed so to employ the phrase, has obtained a permanent settlement; but it is in want of greatly increased support to make it what it should be as a representative of this great country, and give it the influence it ought to have. It has a name, but it wants a local habitation, a building of its own, in which the friends of India might meet in numbers “frequent and full.” And I will ask, shall Canada and Australia possess the handsome and commodious edifices they have lately acquired for their agencies, and shall this magnificent Empire of India, with ten times their revenue, have no place of its own in the world’s metropolis? I hope better things from those that hear me and from all those to whom my words shall be carried by the press. The Association is doing a good work for India. It is neither aggressive nor unduly submissive, neither factious nor fawning. Its aim is the public good, and the means whereby it would attain that end is fair and open discussion. It combines with feelings of profound loyalty a natural and instinctive desire for constitutional progress. I hope and believe that its influence will rapidly extend, that Northern, Southern, and Eastern India will co-operate with the West in supporting it, that it will be joined by an increasing number of members of Parliament, that every shade of opinion will be represented in it, and that it will at length ascend the very pinnacle of prosperity and throw wide the rainbow banner of progress to the world.

#### ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA.

And now, before I sit down, I wish to say a few words, and, if it will not weary you, not a few words, on a subject as to which there exists a great variety, if not contrariety, of opinion; I mean the character and the duration of the relations between India and England. I venture to think that a right understanding of these should lie at the root of all the operations and efforts of the East India Association, and be the guiding star of those who seek to promote the welfare of the country from which I come and that in which I now am. I think, too, that a careful consideration of the subject would eliminate much of the discrepancy of opinion that now exists regarding it. On the one hand, Englishmen—I am speaking of the masses in England, not, of course, of Englishmen in this country—are too apt to undervalue the immense benefits which accrue to them from their connection with India. They do not consider, for example, that our best Colonial Governors,

thousands of our finest soldiers, and certainly our best generals—the Duke of Wellington, for instance—have been trained in India, and that India forms, in fact, the best school for the service of the State in both military and civil matters. They take no note of that most weighty fact, that India has maintained, and is maintaining, a great army for England, which makes her the paramount Power in Asia, and which, while enabling her to cope with any force that could be brought against her there, also supplies her with the means of detaching a formidable contingent to any quarter of the globe. As to this, let me say that a committee of the American Congress appointed years ago to inquire into foreign affairs, reported that the colonial empire of Great Britain, pervading, as it does, all parts of the world, and furnishing safe harbours and unlimited resources on every coast, contributes to the mother country a support equivalent to a million of men in arms. But how greatly would that estimate be increased if the pulse of India and of England beat with one throb, if the people of the two countries were thoroughly united in heart, thought, and action, and if this great army were regarded not as a garrison, but as the exponent of the united strength of India and England, which might be indefinitely increased from the warlike population of both; and may we not take this view when we remember the innumerable instances of loyalty and devotion to the English Government which have been manifested by the Princes and people of India during so many years? In general, Englishmen ignore, too, the fact that for more than a century a stream of wealth has been flowing from India into England, which has mainly contributed to make her what she is—the richest country in the world. India stands third in the long list of our commercial correspondents, but the stream of which I speak is not made up of the profits of trade alone, though these have been considerable. It has many other affluents, some of which do not run upon the surface, and their course, therefore, cannot easily be traced. One of those might be styled private remittances, being the savings of individuals, which in the old days were, we know, of vast amount. How much wealth has been sent to England in that way can never be calculated, but of this we may be sure, that thousands of English families have had their coffers enriched from Hindustan. On the other hand, the people of India overlook the balance side of the account. If England draws wealth from India, she causes a corresponding stream to replace what is drawn out. She has found many sources of wealth in India which did not previously exist. I may mention, for example, the indigo farms and the tea and coffee plantations, founded not only by Englishmen, but, what is still more important for India, with English capital. Above all, I must instance the opium



trade. Now it has been said that India pays to England a tribute of 12,000,000*l.*, sent to meet what may be called the English account. It would not be difficult to reduce this amount, but without going into the question of how much of this so-called tribute is interest for money lent, and payment for stores of which India gets the benefit, let us assume the statement to be correct. But it cannot be denied that two-thirds of this account are balanced by the opium trade founded by England, by which a stream of 8,000,000*l.* is annually drawn from China, and besides that, 1,000,000 of opium cultivators are maintained in great comfort in India. Thus, that account is balanced. Again, waiving all discussion as to the comparative merit of public works constructed in India by Englishmen, it must, at all events, be admitted that they have immensely facilitated communication, have given India the means of transporting her surplus produce to the sea, and have done more than anything else towards amalgamating this great Empire. Above all, England has conferred on India a benefit which outweighs all others, the value of which cannot be measured by silver or gold or gems—the inestimable blessing of peace, a peace which includes not only internal tranquillity, but absolute freedom from foreign aggression. Lastly, I must say that here, in Bombay at least, there can be no question as to the side to which the balance of benefit inclines, when we look on this glorious city, which has arisen under English rule out of a desolate swamp. But, once more, the people of India are too much accustomed to use the word “Feringhi,” in reference to Englishmen, in the sense in which we use “foreigner,” and to think that for the inhabitants of any country to govern themselves must be, under all circumstances, an infinitely better thing than to be governed by foreigners. By this they ignore two facts—the first being that many, perhaps most Natives, have derived great benefits from foreign rule; and of this the English themselves are a signal example. England obtained the first germs of civilization and of Christianity from her Roman rulers, and besought them with tears to remain. She obtained the regeneration of her people from Saxons and Danes and Northmen. She owed her uprise among the nations and the rudiments of constitutional government to Normans and Plantagenets, and she owes now her religious tolerance and the undisputed succession to the throne to the House of Brunswick, whose first king of England was so completely a foreigner, that his speeches to Parliament, after being composed by his Minister, were read to the Houses by the Chancellor. The second fact is that, as proved by the affinities of language, the English and the Indians spring from the same Aryan race, and though “a dreary sea now flows between,” both nations were originally one. Now my endeavour will be to steer a middle course, and as I have no prejudices to warp my judgment, and have had

opportunities of studying the relations between India and England, I hope that I may arrive at the truth, and that the truth will be acceptable from my lips. Suffer me now, in attempting to lay down what ought to be thought of the relations between England and India, to call your minds away for a brief moment from the present time to a period more than two centuries ago, and to a scene far removed in every particular from the scene before us. Let your imaginations follow me to a small room in an English seaport, all but defenceless then, but now bristling with such armaments as no other place in the world can show. The time is the 21st of May, 1662. The room is filled with persons of rank, who seem strangely out of place there; but the two most prominent personages are a dark man and a darker woman, who are about to be married, and whose marriage, though neither of them has an Indian tint, signifies the union of Western empire with the East. The man is Charles II., King of England, and the woman is Catherine of Braganza, Infanta or Princess of Portugal, and that which makes their marriage of importance to us in this discussion is that with it began the connection of this island with England. The bride had what was thought then, and might be thought even now, a rich dower—500,000*l.* in gold, a district in Africa, and, what has since proved to be many times more valuable than both, this noble harbour, this fair island of Bombay, and the prospective glories of this great city, which not long ago almost equalled in population the commercial capital of one of the greatest empires in the world, the United States, and is at this moment the second city of the British Empire, the fifth city of the civilized world, and considerably more populous than the capital of Russia; New York having 821,113 inhabitants, Bombay in 1864, 816,562, and by the last census 644,405, while St. Petersburg has only 546,000. Now, pausing for a moment at this point, let me ask, has the union of England and Bombay, accomplished in the manner I have described, and enduring from that day until now, been the best thing possible for them both, or could some better fate be imagined for them? Had the Portuguese Princess not transferred this gem from her coronet to the English crown, how would it sparkle now? In answering this question I desire to speak with all respect of a State which has long been the ally of England, and whose daring navigators first made India accessible to European fleets. But truth compels me to point to that commodious haven which still belongs to Portugal, and which once far outshone Bombay, but whose commerce has long since died out, and whose decaying palaces under its present rulers we can never hope to see rise from their ruins. No one, I imagine, will dispute the fact that Bombay owes its vast superiority over Goa mainly to its having been transferred to England; but I will put

another question, and ask what would, in all probability, have been the fate of Bombay had it remained not under Portuguese, but under Indian rulers? We may, perhaps, judge of what it would have been by recalling what it was under Native rule. Its condition must have been indeed wretched, for, thirty-seven years after its transfer to England, one writer says of it: "A sheep or two from Surat is an acceptable present to the best man upon the island. And the unwholesomeness of the water bears a just proportion to the scarcity and meanness of the diet, and both of them, together with a bad air, make a sudden end of many a poor sailor and soldier. Two monsoons are the age of a man." So little were the advantages of the harbour appreciated, or the future greatness of the island anticipated, that Grant Duff (I mean Grant Duff, the historian—not Grant Duff, the statesman)—(cheers and laughter)—tells us that in 1669 it was seriously proposed to exchange it for Jinilra! It came into our hands when Sivajee was building up the Maratha Empire; but he was utterly indifferent to the port, and all he did was to build a port on the island of Heneri to stop its trade. But even if he had done all in his power for the island, it would have availed but little, for it must be remembered that just a century later the power of the Mahrattas was broken into fragments at the fatal battle of Panipat, and the incessant intestine wars among the Mahratta leaders forbid the thought that Bombay under their rule could ever have risen to the pitch of prosperity it has attained under a more peaceful government. But take another ground for conjecture. The glory of this island is its shipping, its commerce, its merchant princes. What, may we reasonably suppose, would have been the outcome as regards these under an Indian government? Why, the wildest aspiration of one of the greatest sovereigns that ever governed India was to have a fleet of fifty vessels. Count now the ships that year by year visit this port, count the number that at any one time are assembled in the harbour, and say whether the impossible aspiration of the Emperor Shir Shah has not long since become a reality under British rule. Well then, speaking without bias, and simply aiming at the truth, I must declare that, rough hew the fortune of this island for the last two centuries as you would, you could not have shaped them better than destiny has done. Speaking with all sincerity, I say that Bombay has been safer, wealthier, and more powerful under English rule than it would have been under a Portuguese or an Indian government, and had the English never appeared upon the scene. (Loud cheers.) But what may be said of Bombay in this respect may be said with even greater truth of all India, for the amalgamation of the whole vast region from Cape Comorin to the Snowy Mountains into one empire, the extinction of internal war and the freedom and development of internal trade, are of

themselves very great and almost priceless blessings, which are not valued as they ought to be, only because the times are altogether forgotten, though by no means so very distant, when there was not an Indian river at which the Pindari did not water his steed, and not an Indian road or by-path where the Thug did not lurk for his victim. Observe, too, that the unification of India was the more requisite in face of the continual agglomeration now going on of neighbouring countries into vast empires, which stretch from sea to sea and swallow up the small states near them as a burning forest devours the isolated trees that grow along its border. Thus, at the same time that India has become *one*, and has massed its strength into a mighty whole which might well defy a world in arms, so the enormous Empire of Russia has *pari passu* been consolidated, which originally consisted of republics such as Novogorod and Moscow, dukedoms as Livonia, Finland, Esthonia, Carelia and Courland, kingdoms like Poland and Georgia, and a long list of principalities and khanates, once separate and independent, but now united into a vast Power that claims to have absolute control over one-sixth of the world's habitable surface. In the same way the Empire of Prussia has grown up from a very small State in 1700 to an Empire, and the most formidable military Power the world has ever seen, able at the shortest notice to put more than a million of veteran soldiers in the field. Across the Atlantic, the United States divide with England almost the entire continent of North America. The Americans are a free people; they glory, not without reason, in their freedom, but they are most tenacious, and wisely so, of keeping their enormous territory unbroken by secession. So far from allowing that, they, of course, look forward to the time, which must come, when their star-spangled banner shall float over a still more extended space. And let it not be imagined that it is mere vanity or unreasonable earth-hunger which induces the most civilized nations of the globe to be jealous of their frontiers, and to bate no inch of ground, but to take as their motto "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*" In politics, "to be weak is miserable," and there are advantages in an uninterrupted traffic over a vast region, ruled by a single Government, and in a uniform carriage, a common language and identity of laws and customs, that cannot well be estimated. There is much also in the prestige of empire. To be a citizen of no mean city was a privilege which one of the best and wisest of men rated very highly. If, then, there is any truth in these remarks, it is a glorious thing to belong to the greatest empire of all, the most potent among the powerful, more vast than Russia, almost three times as populous as the whole continent of America, richer than any country is or has been—the Empire of Great Britain, including under that name all the British colonies and depen-

dencies. Much has been said of the enormous area of Russia. Russia has been styled the Colossus which overshadows the world, but it is a fact that the dominions of the Queen of England are almost one-tenth larger than the territories ruled by the Czar; for they have an area of 8,518,679 square miles to the 7,867,094 square miles of Russia, while the number of British subjects is three times greater than Russian, and with resources incomparably superior. Besides that, there is the empire of the sea; and I make no vain boast when I say that so long as India is united to England, no hostile squadron shall ever approach these shores, far less shall any invader from the sea-board, at all events, pollute this soil with his footsteps, or mar the rising prosperity of the country. (Applause.) I say, then, to those, if there be any such, who think that the time may come when the two great countries which Providence has brought together, India and England, will be dissociated—nay, ought to be unlinked—that they are forecasting that which would be a grievous injury to both, that which in the nature of things there is nothing to render necessary, and which, in the interests of mankind, is earnestly to be deprecated and striven against. (Cheers.)

#### NEW CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA.

But when I speak of a perpetual union between England and her colonies and dependencies, as well as of this magnificent Empire of India, I do not for a moment mean to say that the character of the union may not be changed and in the course of time improved. There is another great country, more than twice as large as India, the Dominion of Canada, and a third, a continent in itself, Australia, which is also twice as large as India, both of which countries are attached to England, but, as it were, confederated with her, and bound only by sentiment and a just appreciation of common interests. I see no reason why, as years roll on, and bring with them consecutive improvements, India should not at last enjoy as much of self-government as Canada or Australia, and yet be even more indissolubly linked to England, inasmuch as the conviction will have endured from a much earlier date, for it was not till the Peace of Paris on February the 10th, 1763, and consequently six years after Plassy, and more than a century after the transfer of Bombay, that Canada was ceded to England by the French. Let India only start with a just and loyal sense of its obligations to England, and of the advantages of being confederated with so great a Power, the mistress of the seas and the centre of wealth and civilization, and let both India and England unite to bury in oblivion all such words as "Feringhi," "Foreigner," "Native," and the like, which speak of dissociation and difference of race, and which, therefore, are stamped

with an untruth on the face of them, and there will be no danger nor difficulty in elevating India from dependence to confederation by well-matured and successive changes. (Cheers.) But of what kind and when are those changes to be? The first and the most obvious is Representation, and that of two kinds—representation in the Imperial Parliament and representation in India itself. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the former, the arguments are so strong in favour of its immediate concession that I cannot imagine how it can be withheld. Other countries that have colonies, France, Spain, and Portugal—Holland alone excepted—have long since conceded representation to them in the National Parliaments. France allows fourteen deputies from the Colonies to sit in the *Assemblée Nationale*, and of these deputies one, my friend the Count Dos Bassayres De Richemont, represents the French possessions in India, which have an aggregate area of 188 square miles and a population of 203,807 souls. (Laughter.) According to the same ratio of population, Bombay ought to have at least three representatives in the English Parliament; but if there be any question of representing wealth, influence, and intellect, what are the French possessions in India compared with this great city? It certainly seems incomprehensible to men of plain understandings why such places as Mahé and Karikal should be represented in France by a deputy, and the island of Bourbon by two deputies, while England denies representation altogether to such cities as Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, where there are not only hundreds of Englishmen, but thousands of educated Indians in all respects on a par with Europeans. To show that I am not exaggerating when I say this, I will mention that there is an Indian gentleman in England whose intention it is to contest a seat in Parliament—(cheers)—and I will tell you also that one of the most distinguished members of the last Cabinet has written a letter in which he calls upon the electors to support him as the accepted candidate of his party's choice. Here, then, is a curious anomaly. There is an Indian gentleman declared worthy of a seat in Parliament, and yet they will not accord to him the privilege of being elected in his own country. (Hear, hear.) I may say here that I have just received a copy of the law in the new French compilation which admits the Colonies to be represented in the Senate also. This question is not a new one. It has been discussed long ago, and decided in the affirmative by the best thinkers. Thus Adam Smith, in his well-known work, "*The Wealth of Nations*," in Book IV., ch. VII., page 181, of M'Culloch's edition, says: "The Assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every

“part of it.” “In order to be properly informed!” Can any one hear those words with any patience, knowing what the state of the House of Commons is as regards members who could inform it on Indian affairs? Why, when the late Parliament was so precipitately dissolved, a most important Committee was sitting, which had been collecting evidence on Indian Finance for three years. Of that Committee not half the members retained their seats when they came to the leap which Mr. Gladstone suddenly marked out for them. The member on whose motion the Committee was granted, the Chairman who presided over it, were both rejected by electors who cared more for keeping a beer-shop open for an additional half-hour than for the whole Indian Empire. In my own case it was positively brought forward as an argument against me that I gave so much time to Indian questions. Yet no one can say that I neglected other matters; “Hansard” will prove that. But it was enough that I was supposed to come from India, and in some sense to represent India, and so to India they have sent me back. (Laughter and cheers.) My inference from all this is that unless India has representatives of her own in Parliament, she will have no representation there worthy the name. But how can India obtain representatives of her own? Certainly not by inaction. It is possible that if one sat under a plum-tree for a long time with his mouth wide open, a plum might fall into it. Mind, I don’t speak from experience, for no plum, either literally or metaphorically, ever dropped into my mouth. But I would not have you waste time by sitting still under the plum-tree of Government, though I would have you open your mouths. You must petition. There is no other way of getting anything in England but by asking first. Petitions must go up. I know that a petition has gone up from the Sarvajanic Sabha, signed by 20,000 persons. That is good as far as it goes, but why only one petition? Let there be 1,000 petitions, by Europeans as well as Indians, and signed not by 20,000 persons only, but by twenty hundred thousand, by twenty million, if necessary. Agents must be appointed. The Colonies have agents, why not India? Mr. Childers, a Cabinet Minister, was Agent for Victoria, and he kindly recommended me to replace him, but the Victorians very wisely preferred some one who had lived in their colony. Mr. E. Jenkins is, and Mr. Burke, the great Mr. Burke, was Agent for Canada. The Press must be enlisted in your cause. If the English people see you are earnest, the concession will be—shall I say it must be?—made. (Cheers.) But perhaps it may be objected that if India obtained representation in the English Parliament, Canada, Australia, the West Indies, the Cape, would also expect to have it, and that England would not allow its great Council to be turned into an assembly of Amphictyones. That

objection does not move me in the least. The case of our great dependency, India, is altogether dissimilar from that of our Colonies. In general, they have a Parliament of their own and tax themselves. So far from being on all fours, the two cases have not a leg in common. At the same time I am far from saying that the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament is a thing wholly out of the question. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1870, when Sir Robert Torrens moved for a Select Committee to inquire into our relations with the Colonies, a committee which would have dealt with their representation, I had the honour of seconding him. I said then what I say now, that there is a difficulty as regards members for the Colonies sitting in Parliament, because the Colonies tax themselves, and besides that, I do not know whether the Colonies would appreciate the boon. If they would, that, of course, would make their case stronger. I may add that the Colonies have agents sitting in Parliament, as Mr. E. Jenkins, M.P., is Agent for Canada. But India has no such agents. In fact, the two cases are so dissimilar that, in speaking of the representation of India in Parliament, it is unnecessary to consider that of the Colonies. India, I hope and believe, does wish to be represented in the British Parliament. And let me say that it is no slight privilege to be represented there. Let me assure those who have no personal acquaintance with that Assembly, that nowhere in the world are questions debated more fairly or more ably, nowhere are subterfuges or claptrap more despised, jobbing more scouted, injustice more detested. It is a common but most erroneous notion that the Parliament is indifferent to Indian interests. Parliament is not indifferent to India, but it shuts its ears to dull and vapid speakers, who undertake to discourse about India, but have no real knowledge, or lack the ability to express clearly and cleverly what they know. On the other hand, those who have information to give, and can express themselves tersely and with spirit, are sure of an attentive audience. I have seen a full House listening to Mr. Fawcett with earnest attention when speaking on Indian affairs; and even Mr. Fawcett, with all his oratorical powers, which are very remarkable, with all his independent vigour of thought and immense study of Indian questions, even Mr. Fawcett lacks that complete knowledge which only Natives of India possess and, in a less degree, those Englishmen who have resided in India and have been in the habit of conversing with Indians of all classes in their own language. One more fact as regards this part of my subject, and I pass on. It is this: by common consent, in these days, India is a subject removed from party contests. I am sure that no member, however strong his party proclivities might be, would seek to use India as a fulcrum to shake or to support a Ministry. India is that



*statio tutissima* when the troubled sea of party politics ceases to rage—  
*inque sinus scindit seses unda reductos.*

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

I come now to the representation of India in India itself—a subject which would require a separate discourse, but I can give it only a few words. At p. 65 of the Blue-book containing the evidence taken before the Select Committee on Indian Finance in 1873, will be found suggestions made by Sir Charles Trevelyan for carrying out in India the principle which has been adopted in the most civilized countries, that representation should be commensurate with taxation. Sir Charles would have three sets of councils—that is to say, provincial councils at the chief seats of the eight local administrations; zillah or district councils, in which each district would be represented by its notable and confidential men; and lastly, town and village municipalities, in which the principle of direct election should be introduced “within such limits,” says Sir Charles, “as may be safe and expedient.” In these councils every proposal for taxation, every financial scheme, would undergo the ordeal of local scrutiny by the representatives of the people of India before it was decided upon by the Supreme Government. No doubt valuable advice would be obtained from those local councils, but the main point would be that the people of India would be receiving an education in self-government which it is at once unjust and impolitic to defer. So far from these being a source of danger to English rule, it would be the reverse, because the people of India would then participate in the work of government, and would understand the reasons why revenue was raised and the objects for which it was disbursed. And now, gentlemen, I have done; neither my strength nor your patience would allow me to proceed further. I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to put forward reasons why the relations between India and England should be drawn down and be regarded as permanent. I think the present time opportune for approaching this question, when England is giving the strongest possible proof of the high value she sets on India by sending the eldest son of her Sovereign and the future King of Great Britain to visit these shores and become acquainted with the Princes and people of India. I hope that this will inaugurate a new era, when old grudges and prejudices will have for ever passed away, and when Englishmen will extend the rights of citizenship to their Indian fellow-subjects, and Indians will glory in sharing and upholding the power of England. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE then said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in proposing a resolution

which has been put into my hands. It is to this effect, "That the " thanks of this meeting are due to Mr. Eastwick for his disinterested and " consistent advocacy of the interests of the Natives of India, and the " cause of Indian reform." At this late hour I will not detain the meeting longer, but will only make a few remarks on the subject of the motion. I believe that the motion does not need any advocacy or recommendation on my part to induce you to carry it, as I have no doubt it will be carried by acclamation. (Applause.) But I crave leave, notwithstanding, to make a few remarks, in order to bear my humble testimony in support of this motion. I have just returned from a long visit to England, the scene of Mr. Eastwick's labours on behalf of the Natives of India, and therefore I am in a position to inform this meeting how much he has done and how eager at all times he has been to promote the interests and welfare of the Natives of India. Whether in Parliament or out of Parliament, whenever Indian subjects were brought before English audiences, he took a conspicuous part and advocated the interests of the people of this country with very great zeal and ability. His knowledge of the subject was such that he commanded the respectful attention of an audience, whether it was the Imperial Parliament or any other English assembly. I have listened to his debates on important subjects in Parliament with very great interest; and I must tell you that in the laborious inquiry made by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian Finance, before which my esteemed friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and myself had the honour of appearing as witnesses on behalf of this Presidency, two years ago, Mr. Eastwick took a very prominent part. He has himself given you an example of the great assiduity and industry he brought to bear, in connection with that Committee, in the able analysis he prepared of the evidence that had been recorded, and which is to be found in the three ponderous volumes published by Parliament. I endorse all that Mr. Eastwick has said on the subject of cementing the bonds of union between India and England, and strengthening those as much as possible. I admit that India owes an immense deal to England, and I willingly acknowledge the immense advantages India derives from the British rule. I agree with Mr. Eastwick in saying that it would be a great misfortune if anything occurred to bring about a disunion of the bonds by which India is united to England. In fact, India will weep when the English leave her (which God forbid), in the same way as the Britons wept when the Romans left them. But, notwithstanding that, I say that India wishes to enjoy more the benefits of the good government she is placed under; and in order to enjoy these advantages to the fullest extent, it is necessary that such defects as may be found to exist in the administration of India should be removed; and one of the best

modes of doing that is by welcoming such philanthropic, independent, and intelligent Englishmen as Mr. Eastwick—(hear, hear)—who come to this country to see the real state of things and to judge for themselves. I welcome his advent to our shores, and I have no doubt that his stay in this country will do an immense deal of good to India. I was very glad to learn from him that, in the inquiries which he intends to make, he will not view matters through dazzling official spectacles, and I think, if he pursues his inquiries independently of official guidance, he will be able to get much more accurate and trustworthy information than he otherwise could. If he goes into the interior of the country, and particularly amongst the agricultural and labouring classes, he will see the condition of the people with his own eyes. I would advise him to go without previous intimation into the huts and cottages of the ryots, in the same way that I did two years ago, and then he will be able himself to see the real condition of the people. That condition I have myself witnessed, and it gave me intense pain to see it, and I have no doubt he will witness the same state of things. Mr. Eastwick has given a vivid account of the rise and progress of Bombay, and of its prosperity under the British rule; but Bombay is not the whole of India, and there is a great deal in the interior of the country which is painful to contemplate. The address which has just been presented to Mr. Eastwick brings to his notice several of the wants and grievances of the people, which call for redress. With the assistance of such sincere friends of India as Mr. Eastwick, we hope to succeed in our endeavours to procure from Government a recognition of our just claims and such reforms as are necessary in the administration of Indian affairs. For these reasons I, in common with my countrymen, give to Mr. Eastwick a hearty welcome. (Applause.) I wish him God-speed in the labour of love he has undertaken, and success in every way. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. CASSINATH TRIMBUCK TELANG, and on being put to the meeting by the Chairman, was carried with applause.

\* It was then proposed by the Honourable RAO SAHIB V. N. MANDLIK, seconded by Mr. JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to the Rev. Dr. Wilson for having kindly consented to preside on the occasion.

The Rev. Dr. WILSON replied in a few words, and the meeting terminated.

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*Annual Meeting of the Association.*

THE Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, August 4, 1875, at the Offices, 20, Great George Street, Westminster.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD occupied the chair, and was supported by General Sir Le Grand Jacob; W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.; Colonel French; W. Tayler, Esq. (late Commissioner of Patna); A. C. Mitra, Esq.; P. P. Gordon, Esq.; Major-General G. Burn; J. Henley, Esq.; R. C. Saunders, Esq.; John Jones, Esq.; Captain Palmer, &c.

Captain PALMER (Hon. Secretary of the Association) submitted the annual report of the Council for the past year.

MR. W. TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said that at this, the annual meeting of the Association, there was nothing particular to take note of, except that the Association had been going on in its usual course; and, although possibly not so active and energetic as some would wish, it was still following a very useful line of action, and doing what it could for the interests of India. Nothing of very great importance had happened during the year; but one or two subjects possessing great interest had been discussed at the usual meetings of the Association, and to these as well as other matters reference would be found in the detailed report. He might say, however, that by the news just arrived from India, it was clear that the Association had been subjected to an attack on the part of one of the principal papers in Bombay; but as the Bombay Branch of the Association was in the same boat with them in England, he thought it might fairly be left to the members in Bombay to conduct a satisfactory defence. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Tayler concluded by formally moving the adoption of the report.

MR. FITZWILLIAM seconded the motion.

MR. JONES remarked that in the report the agency of the Press was complimented as one of the instruments of the Association for diffusing useful information on Indian topics. He noticed on the occasion of the debate held recently at the Westminster Palace Hotel that one of the speakers who addressed the meeting found no report whatever, not even of his name, in the newspaper which reported the meeting. His remarks might or might not have been important, but if the Press professed to give reports of meetings, it seemed to him obligatory that the reports should be

fair and reasonably correct reports, or else, if the contrary was the case, they came under the same category as those adulterators who sell false materials. A report, professing to be a report of a public meeting, having one of the speakers entirely omitted was, in his opinion, as morally incorrect as for a man to take the cream off the milk and sell what remained for milk. The law punishes such offences, and the law ought to punish newspaper proprietors who were guilty of a like offence. Whether what he complained of was caused by the particular caprice of the reporter or by the editor, he was unable to say. If the former, he would beg to move that the reporter be not admitted to any future meetings of the Association; if the editor was to blame, he had only to say that, as newspapers are private property, the editor came under the same denomination as those who retail false ingredients. He (Mr. Jones) asked if it was known to whom the omission of which he complained was attributable, and would be glad to know what were the regulations connected with the publication of the proceedings of the Association.

Captain PALMER (Hon. Secretary) replied that the Association engaged a reporter to report verbatim, or as nearly verbatim as possible, the proceedings of the Association for publication in the Journal, and before the report was printed the speeches were sent out to the members who had taken part in the discussion for revision. As to the reports in the newspapers, the Association were under an obligation to the papers for giving the space they so frequently did to the proceedings of the Association. But, as he thought most of the members were aware, the editors and reporters exercised their discretion as to what they inserted of the operations of the Association; and, speaking with reference to the words in the Council's report to which Mr. Jones had alluded, he added that the Press had done a good deal for them by inserting reports of their meetings, and although the accounts were necessarily greatly abridged, they were very useful in making known the objects and work of the Association all over the kingdom.

A short discussion then followed, which was closed by

The CHAIRMAN, who stated that the Press did not report even the proceedings of the House of Commons after what it thinks a reasonable hour of the night. At that hour the reporters are withdrawn.

The motion for the adoption of the report was then put and carried.

The CHAIRMAN then moved: "That the Right Hon. Sir Laurence Peel be re-elected President for the ensuing year," and referred to Sir Laurence Peel as a gentleman who, when in India, manifested considerable interest in the well-being of its people, and had left behind him a high reputation. It was for the interest of the Association that a gentleman standing so high in general estimation should continue to be

its President, although, from the state of his health, he was precluded from attending their meetings very often.

Mr. P. P. GORDON seconded the motion and said that the Association had experienced the benefit of the sound judgment and legal knowledge of their esteemed President, and although his ill-health prevented his frequent attendance, it was well known that whenever it had been necessary, he had made an exertion to be present.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Colonel FRENCH moved the third resolution : "That the following gentlemen be re-elected members of the Council : Lord W. M. Hay, Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, R. N. Fowler, Esq., P. P. Gordon, Esq., Jamsetji Jivanji Gazdar, Esq., S. P. Low, Esq., and J. Bruce Norton, Esq."

General Sir G. LE GRAND JACOB seconded the motion, which was then carried unanimously.

Major-General G. BURN moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM seconded the motion, which was put and carried *nem. con.*

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote, said he had not been able to attend the meetings of the Association very frequently, for the reason that he had been little in England. Since he lost his seat in the House of Commons, he had spent much of his time in India, but whenever he was in town, his services were always at the command of the Association. Although not a diligent attendant, he, however, took a very deep interest in Indian affairs, and was always ready to promote the interests of India in any way that presented itself. He hoped that he had given demonstration of his feeling in that particular when in Parliament, for he devoted so much time and thought to Indian affairs that he incurred the censure of his constituents. And even at the present moment there were matters connected with India that occupied him—as, for instance, the question upon which a deputation (of which he was a member) had, only the day previous, waited upon Lord Salisbury. He alluded to the treatment of the Coolie emigrants in the Mauritius. He had studied the voluminous reports of the Commissioners sent out to British Guiana, and more recently to the Mauritius, to investigate the condition of the Indian emigrants to those islands. The study of those reports had taken a great deal of his time, and he had become satisfied that the facts elicited in the course of the inquiry by the Commissioners showed conclusively that a frightful state of suffering had prevailed amongst the Coolies in the Mauritius, and in a less degree in British Guiana. Such a state of things he maintained to be so far proved as to call for active interference on the part of the Home Government, and it

was some satisfaction to know that Lord Salisbury had informed the deputation that waited upon him that he was fully alive to the gross abuses that had obtained, and that he would give the matter consideration. The subject had not as yet engaged the attention of the Association, but he (the Chairman) thought it was one eminently deserving their consideration. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting then terminated.

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## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 1874-5.

YOUR Council beg to submit their Report for the year 1874-5. For seven years they have been engaged, not unsuccessfully, in promoting the best interests of the people of India. During that time much useful information has been diffused through the land by means of the Journal of the Association, pamphlets, and the agency of the Press; important subjects have been discussed, and valuable opinions elicited from statesmen and others of wide experience and practical knowledge; and they feel justified in saying that during the past twelve months, as well as in previous years, the objects for which the Association was formed have been persistently carried out.

In their last report the Council stated that, in consequence of information received from Mr. S. P. Low, they had addressed the Secretary of State on the subject of the balance of the Bengal Famine Fund of 1861, asked for information how the sum of 110,000*l.* transmitted to India had been expended, and suggested that the balance might be made available for the late lamentable famine in Bengal; that the Marquis of Salisbury had thanked the Association for their suggestion, and referred the subject to the Government of India.

They have since received from the India Office copy of a despatch from the Government of India, giving an account of the expenditure of the money, and stating that the unexpended balance had been credited to the general revenues as an insufficient set-off to the corresponding pensions which were paid to orphans left destitute by the famine of 1860-1. The balance corresponded with the sum Mr. Low informed the Council had been unexpended.

Evidence given before the East India Finance Committee having shown that the Natives of India have hitherto been generally excluded from the higher grades of the Engineering Service, the Council considered the subject, and addressed a Memorial (see Appendix A) to the Secretary of State for India, pointing out the disadvantages under which the Natives of India laboured, and the value, on grounds of State policy, of their taking their place among the higher class of Englishmen in the administration of the public service, and praying that arrangements may be made so as to insure in future their regular employment in the Public Works Department.

The reply from the India Office stated that Civil Engineering Colleges have been established in various parts of India, from which Natives pass into the Public Works Department; and the promotion of all in the service, wherever educated, depends only on merit and capacity.

The Association were pressed to memorialize the Secretary of State to instruct the Government of Bombay to refrain from unduly enhancing the assessment of land revenue in that Presidency. The statements submitted to the Council, as well as those in official documents, showed that the enhancement had given most valid cause of complaint on the part of the cultivators.

The Bombay Branch at the same time took the matter up, and wrote to the Secretary to Government on the subject. After the letter was dispatched, the Government published a resolution laying down the limits within which revised rates of assessment are to be imposed, which will naturally improve the position of the cultivators.

Another subject which the Council, in concert with the Branch at Bombay, has had under consideration, is the revision of the Customs Tariff. The Bombay Branch petitioned the Viceroy to repeal the existing export duty of 3 per cent. on yarns and cloths manufactured in India. This duty has dwindled to about 12,500% a-year during the past five years; its abolition, therefore, would not materially affect the revenues of the country, and the imposition of the duty is felt as a hardship, and is opposed to the principles of political economy.

The Memorial is printed in the Journal (page 97).

In the last report mention was made of the Council having addressed memorials to the Duke of Argyll and to the Viceroy on the subject of the Bill introduced into the Legislative Council of India to limit the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency in matters relating to land revenue. The Council considered that the Bill



was calculated to create general dissatisfaction, as it would take away the power of appeal to the Civil Courts in cases of land revenue, and thus the injured parties would be shut out from all chances of redress. The object of the Memorial was to protest against the withdrawal of the right of appeal against the acts of Government officers in India. That Bill has not yet passed the Legislative Council.

Several papers have been read, from time to time, and interesting discussions have followed, on the question of the advisability of publicity in all trials and investigations, civil and criminal, affecting the interests, status, or character of the Princes of India; and on the last occasion the Chairman had expressed confident expectation of being able to bring the matter before Parliament. This, however, was not done; but the Council were gratified at finding the principle carried out by the Viceroy during the recent State trial at Baroda, on terms and conditions almost identical with those suggested at the meetings of the Association. A paper was read on the subject by Mr. W. Tayler, who studiously avoided entering into any of the collateral questions connected with the procedure, and the guilt or innocence of the Guikwar, of the special crimes charged against him. Although different opinions were expressed on the subsidiary points of the case, in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Tayler's paper on the Guikwar's trial, yet every speaker of authority expressed approbation of the principle thus introduced. The Council hope that the late proceeding is the inauguration of a more satisfactory system than that which has been hitherto followed in the Political Department.

The Council early recognized the great importance of deciding that England should pay its fair share of the expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and of having it authoritatively announced with as little delay as possible; and the matter having been represented to Mr. J. Farley Leith, M.P., one of their body, he put the following question to the Prime Minister on the subject on the 3rd of June: "To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the expenses of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, connected with his voyage to, and tour in, India will be charged to the Imperial Exchequer or to the Indian Treasury; or are they to be apportioned in any and what proportion between the two countries."

The reply was indefinite, but the Prime Minister has since announced an arrangement of the proportion of the expenses to the two countries, which is generally considered satisfactory.

The Council have had under consideration an important suggestion

that they should depute a competent gentleman to visit the principal towns in the kingdom, to deliver lectures and addresses regarding the condition and wants of the people of India, the removal of defects in the administration of the affairs of the Indian Empire, the best means of bringing about such reforms in the Government as are desirable, and the justice and necessity of more active interest being taken in the affairs of that Empire.

While fully acknowledging the advantage that might be derived from such lectures, the Council were unable, on pecuniary grounds, to adopt the suggestion.

The Council having been informed that Mr. Eastwick was about to proceed to India, gladly availed themselves of his kind offer to advocate the pecuniary claims of the Association to the liberal support of the Native Princes and others; and in communicating to him the resolution, they took the opportunity of tendering to him their warm acknowledgments, and their trust that he will accomplish in the rest of India the work so well performed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the West. They have lately heard of his arrival in Bombay, where a large and important public meeting was held, and an address presented to him, which concluded with these words: "The East India Association has no set formula to promote, no theoretical line of policy to enforce. Its members desire nothing higher or more comprehensive than that the principles of Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 shall be faithfully applied and steadily carried out. Towards accomplishing the objects comprised in that truly Royal Charter, much vigilance is still needed and many efforts are required. The constitution of the Association is well adapted to subserve these ends, and we earnestly trust that you will meet with such a response in the various cities you may visit, as will elicit increased co-operation in its work and a more intimate union between the European and Indian subjects of Her Majesty in the promotion of those substantial political ameliorations and those material and financial improvements in which all classes are deeply interested. It is in this spirit, Sir, that we desire to bid you welcome to the shores of India, and to the great city of Bombay."

The Council again had under consideration the delay that has taken place in carrying out the provisions of the 33rd Vict., cap. iii. sec. 6, for affording facilities for the admission of the Natives of India into the Indian Civil Service, and they addressed a petition to the House of Commons, pointing out that the enactment remains inoperative, so far as all the offices exclusively held by the Covenanted Civil Service

in India are concerned, by reason of the omission or prolonged delay of the Government of India to frame such regulations as were intended by the Act of Parliament; that the omission or delay is felt as a grievance by our Native fellow-subjects in India; and the petition prayed the House of Commons to adopt such measures as might seem most expedient towards obtaining a remedy for the grievance in question, and rendering effective the opening up of the Civil Service to Natives, which has already been sanctioned by Parliament.

This petition was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. J. Farley Leith on the 12th of April, and a copy is inserted in the Appendix (page 173).

The public journals just received contain copies of Rules stated to have been passed by the Secretary of State, which are presumed to be authentic, and are inserted in the Appendix.

The Council have published the following papers in the Journal:—

“Summary of the Operations of the East India Association from its Foundation.”

“Indian Political Economy and Finance.” Paper by Major-General Marriott, on November 25th, 1874.

“The Marquis of Salisbury’s Indian Councils Bill: Supervision of Many Better than Revision by One.” Paper read by Mr. W. Martin Wood before the Bombay Branch, on July 17th, 1874.

“Native Self-government in Matters of Education.” Paper by Dr. Leitner, on January 27th, 1875.

“The Wants of India, and How we are to Obtain a Hearing for them.” Paper read by Lieut.-Colonel Tyrrell, on April 21st, 1875.

“Inter-Provincial Finance: Bombay and Bengal’s Relative Position.” Paper read by Mr. W. Martin Wood before the Bombay Branch.

“The Trial of the Guikwar, with Special Reference to the Principle of Publicity therein Adopted.” Paper read by Mr. W. Tayler, on June 9th, 1875.

The Council tender their best thanks to the Readers of the papers and to the gentlemen who took part in the discussions.

The Council continue to receive valuable additions to their Library, and they would specially mention the handsome present from Mr. Dickinson of a set of forty-three volumes of “Hansard,” from the years 1854 to 1863 inclusive, and the loan from that gentleman of the set of

fifteen volumes of Parliamentary Reports on the Charter of 1832, which contain many important documents for reference; and their acknowledgments are due to the Proprietors of the following papers, who present copies for the use of the Reading-room, where they may be daily read by members of the Association:—

<i>The Delhi Gazette</i> .....	Agra.
„ <i>Aligurh Gazette</i> .....	Aligurh.
„ <i>Native Opinion</i> .....	Bombay.
„ <i>Times of India</i> .....	„
„ <i>Argus</i> .....	„
„ <i>Bengalee</i> .....	Calcutta.
„ <i>Friend of India</i> .....	„
„ <i>Hindu Patriot</i> .....	„
„ <i>Indian Daily News</i> .....	„
„ <i>Indian Economist</i> .....	„
„ <i>Madras Athenæum and Daily News</i>	Madras.
„ <i>Madras Times</i> .....	„
„ <i>Native Public Opinion</i> .....	„
„ <i>Indian Public Opinion</i> .....	Lahore.
„ <i>Nafa-ul-Azim</i> .....	„
„ <i>Examiner</i> .....	London.
„ <i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i> .....	„
„ <i>Doctor</i> ....	„

To the Proprietors of all the above papers the Council tender their best thanks.

Their best thanks were also due to the Council of India for continuing to supply them with Parliamentary returns and other important papers relating to India, copies of which are placed on the table of the Reading-room, where they are constantly referred to; other copies being sent to Bombay for the use of the Branch there.

Mr. A. S. Rhagava Charier has been appointed Honorary Secretary of the Branch formed at Bangalore, where he has induced several gentlemen to join the Association; and it is hoped that his example will be followed in other parts of India.

The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Council since the last annual meeting: Hurrychund Chintamon, Esq.; Dr. G. W. Leitner; George Foggo, Esq.; W. Dent, Esq.; James Sewell White, Esq.; A. C. Mitra, Esq.; to fill vacancies caused by members leaving England.

Eighteen gentlemen have been elected members of the Association since the last meeting.

The following members of Council retire by rotation ; the Council recommend their re-election : Lord W. M. Hay ; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq. ; Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre ; R. N. Fowler, Esq. ; P. P. Gordon, Esq. ; Jamsetji Jivanji Gazdar, Esq. ; S. P. Low, Esq. ; J. Bruce Norton, Esq.

The accounts for the year have been audited, and will be found in the Appendix.

In conclusion, the Council would appeal to the wealthy and influential classes in India for increased support and more liberal contributions ; and they would remind them that the wants, the wishes, the rights, and the interests of the vast population which looks to Great Britain for good government and protection, have claimed prominent consideration, and must ever be the foremost objects, of an Association formed expressly to give publicity to the sentiments of an otherwise unrepresented community.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

*Who have Paid their Subscriptions from May 1, 1874, to April 30, 1875.*

	For	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Akroyd .....	1874 .....	1	5	0
W. P. Andrew, Esq. ....	1873-74 .....	0	10	0
George Appleton, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
J. H. W. Arathoon, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
Major-General Sir George Balfour, M.P. ....	" .....	1	5	0
M. F. Bass, Esq., M.P. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
Major Evans Bell .....	" .....	2	10	0
Lawrence Biale, Esq. ....	1873-74 .....	2	10	0
Nicholas C. Biale, Esq. ....	" .....	2	10	0
Colonel James Black .....	1874 .....	1	5	0
James Bogie, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Brereton .....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
Major-General David Briggs .....	" .....	2	10	0
Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Esq. ....	1874 .....	1	5	0
A. Burn, Esq., M.D. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
Dadabhoy Byramjee, Esq. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
John Capper, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
Miss Mary Carpenter .....	1874-75 .....	2	1	0
P. Ratnavelu Chetti, Esq. ....	1874 .....	1	5	0
P. R. Cola, Esq. ....	" .....	0	5	0
Sir T. E. Colebrooke, M.P. ....	1874-78 .....	5	9	0
J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
Henry Cope, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
Sir A. Cotton .....	1875 .....	1	5	0
General F. C. Cotton .....	" .....	1	5	0
H. M. Court, Esq. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
A. Cursetjee, Esq. ....	" .....	2	10	0
C. Dale, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
Juland Danvers, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
Emerson Dawson, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
W. Dent, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
John Dickinson, Esq. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
S. S. Dickinson, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
R. H. Elliot, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
Colonel H. L. Evans .....	1874 .....	1	5	0
Colonel W. E. Evans .....	1875 .....	1	5	0
Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre .....	" .....	1	5	0
W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq. ....	1874 .....	0	5	0
G. Foggo, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
C. Forjett, Esq. ....	1874-75 .....	2	10	0
G. W. Forrest, Esq. ....	" .....	1	5	0
R. E. Forrest, Esq. ....	" .....	2	10	0
H. W. Freeland, Esq. ....	1875 .....	1	5	0
Colonel P. T. French .....	" .....	1	5	0
Nuzzer Futehally, Esq. ....	1874 .....	1	5	0
Colonel Fyers .....	1875 .....	1	5	0

	For	£	s.	d.
S. Grove Grady, Esq.....	1874-75	2	10	0
Dr. A. Graham .....	"	2	10	0
Colonel W. Gray .....	"	2	10	0
Lord R. Grosvenor.....	1875	1	5	0
Sir Robert Hamilton .....	"	1	5	0
Lord John Hay .....	1872-74	0	15	0
Colonel E. Hemery.....	1875	1	5	0
H. R. Henderson, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
F. F. Henley, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
J. N. Higinbotham, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
John Holms, Esq., M.P. ....	"	1	5	0
James F. Hore, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
A. R. Hutchins, Esq.....	"	1	5	0
General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob .....	"	1	5	0
Charles Jay, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
John Jones, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
Sir Arnold Kemball .....	"	1	5	0
Professor T. H. Key .....	"	1	5	0
H. Kimber, Esq.....	1875	1	5	0
John Knott, Esq., The late, per C. C. Knott, Esq....	1872-74	3	15	0
Hafiz Sudrool Islam Khan Bahadoor .....	1874	1	3	7
R. T. Lattey, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
W. W. Leaker, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
Dr. A. H. Leith .....	"	1	5	0
J. Farley Leith, Esq., M.P. ....	1874-75	2	10	5
A. P. Le Messurier, Esq. ....	1872-73	2	2	0
Rev. James Long .....	1874-75	2	6	0
General Sir John Low, K.C.B. ....	1874-77	4	5	0
S. P. Low, Esq. ....	1875	1	0	0
Hon. C. J. Lyttelton.....	"	1	5	0
Colonel C. Mackenzie .....	"	1	5	0
G. G. Macpherson, Esq.....	"	1	5	0
W. Markby, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
General W. Marriott .....	"	1	5	0
Hugh Mason, Esq.....	"	1	5	0
F. Mathew, Esq.....	"	1	5	0
James Mathew, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
Lucas Mavrogordato, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
Lieut.-Colonel W. McGeorge .....	1872	1	5	0
C. Meenacshaya, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
S. V. Morgan, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
V. N. Narasimmingar, Esq., Bangalore .....	1874	1	7	2
James Ouchterlony, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
J. G. A. Palmer, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
Captain W. C. Palmer .....	"	1	5	0
J. C. Parry, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
John Pender, Esq., M.P. ....	1875	1	5	0
Captain A. Phelps .....	"	1	5	0
S. Arokeum Pillay, Esq., Bangalore.....	1874	1	7	2
Colonel A. B. Rathborne .....	1875	1	5	0

	For	£	s.	d.
Sir H. Rawlinson .....	1874	1	5	0
General W. Richardson .....	1875	1	5	0
H. B. Riddell, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
Almaric Rumsey, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
A. R. Sabanputty Moodliar, Esq., Bangalore .....	"	1	7	2
Marquis of Salisbury .....	1875	1	0	0
Lord Sandhurst .....	"	1	5	0
R. D. Sassoon, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
R. C. Saunders, Esq. ....	"	2	10	0
F. Schiller, Esq. ....	1874	0	5	0
Charles Schreiber, Esq. ....	1868-74	8	15	0
Major-General E. W. S. Scott .....	1875	1	5	0
H. Danby Seymour, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
General R. Shaw .....	1874	0	5	0
H. R. Shroff, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
Dr. D. H. Small .....	"	1	0	0
S. B. Sivetadrayengar, Esq., Bangalore .....	"	1	7	3
H. Lee Smith, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
P. B. Smollett, Esq., M.P. ....	1875	1	5	0
Colonel T. Stock .....	"	1	5	0
J. H. Stocqueler, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
Lord Strathnairn .....	1875	1	5	0
D. Sutherland, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
Sir M. Coomara Swamy .....	1873-75	3	11	0
Gannendro M. Tagore, Esq. ....	1874-78	6	5	0
W. Tayler, Esq. ....	1873	1	5	0
G. Noble Taylor, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
T. Taylor, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
W. Thom, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
Colonel E. Thompson .....	"	1	5	0
W. Torrens, Esq., M.P. ....	"	1	5	0
Sir C. E. Trevelyan .....	"	1	5	0
Colonel J. Trevor .....	"	1	5	0
Lieut.-Colonel F. Tyrrell .....	"	1	5	0
P. Venkatakrishnam Naidoo, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
F. R. Vicajee, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
Major-General Sir R. Wallace .....	1873-74	0	10	0
J. F. Watkins, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
Sir D. Wedderburn .....	1876	1	5	0
F. H. Westmacott, Esq. ....	1875	1	5	0
J. Sewell White, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
J. Whitwell, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
Richard Willis, Esq. ....	1872	1	5	0
F. Luxmore Wilson, Esq. ....	1874-75	2	10	0
J. P. Wise, Esq. ....	1874	1	5	0
Major J. A. Wood .....	1875	1	5	0
J. T. Wood, Esq. ....	"	1	5	0
W. Wren, Esq. ....	Life Sub.	14	0	0



## CASH ACCOUNT, from May 1, 1874, to April 30, 1875.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.		CR.	
DR.	1874.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
May 1.—To BALANCE at Bankers (Grindlay and Co.)	135 14 7		150 0 0	185 12 11	
"		0 15 0—	156 9 7	264 11 4	
1875.				142 1 7	
April 30.—To Subscriptions received in London as per foregoing List .....	247 6 9		11 6 5		
Ditto received and returned as per contra ..	1 5 0		7 7 0		
To Interest on Investments in India .....	535 15 4		25 15 10		
" " in London ..	65 19 3		9 13 9		
To Difference in purchase of Stock .....	5 6 4		5 5 0		
To Advertisements in the Journal .....	14 9 6		9 9 0		
To Sales of Journal .....	2 18 0—	873 0 2	6 6 0		
			12 15 6—	87 18 6	
			Mr. Eastwick's Travelling Expenses to India .....	100 0 0	
			Subscription returned as per contra .....	1 5 0	
			BALANCE at Bankers .....	211 7 2	
			" in hand .....	16 13 3—	228 0 5
				£1,009 9 9	

## BALANCE SHEET, April 30, 1875.

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Investments in England: Rs. 10,900 in 4 per Cent. Loan of 1865 ..	1,044 4 5		
Furniture and Fixtures, London .....	156 4 3		
Library .....	100 0 0		
Balance of Bank and Cash Account .....	228 0 5		
	£1,528 9 1		
		General Fund Balance carried forward .....	£1,528 9 1

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers, and found correct.  
 20, Great George Street,  
 July 21, 1875.

W. TAYLER.  
 C. MEENACSHAYA. } Auditors.

W. C. PALMER, Hon. Secretary.

## APPENDIX A.

*Memorial to the Secretary of State for India praying that Facilities be afforded for Admission of qualified Natives of India to the higher grade of the Indian Engineering Service.*

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY,  
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.

*The Memorial of the Council of the East India Association*

SHEWETH :

That the existing regulations for the supply of Civil Engineers to the public service in India prevent the admission of any but those who can obtain nomination by a competitive examination held in England, and who can afford subsequently to go through a costly course of instruction for three years at Cooper's Hill College, or elsewhere.

That the Natives of India cannot ordinarily meet either the cost of a voyage to England for the mere chance of successful competition at public examinations, or the cost of the three years' subsequent study if successful, and will thus be shut out from the higher grades of the Public Works Department unless special means be taken to prevent that consequence.

That the effective execution of the public works always depends much on the lower grades of overseers, who must ordinarily be Natives of India ; and few things can tend more strongly to faithful and skilful service in those grades, and to general good economy, than the withdrawal of every hindrance to the promotion of the most capable, and to the fullest use of the professional ability which would be found amongst the Natives of India if they were allowed to compete on really equal terms.

That every instance in which a Native British subject fitly takes his place among the higher ranks of Englishmen in the administration of the public service, is of infinite value, on grounds of State policy, as a means of fellow-feeling and of loyalty.

That justice requires that employment in the Public Works Department, as in other departments of the public service, be open to Natives of India so far as consistent with necessary conditions of efficiency, on the broad and general ground of duty to raise the capacities of the people in every branch of the national work and life.

Therefore, on the above-stated grounds of economy, policy, and

justice, your Memorialists pray, that as provision was made by Act 33 Vict. cap. iii. that nothing in the Acts which regulate admission to the Civil Service and give exclusive privileges to the members thereof, should restrain the authorities in India from appointing any Native of India to any office or employment, subject to such rules as should be made for the purpose by the Governor-General of India in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council,—so, in like spirit and with a like general purpose, your Lordship in Council may be pleased to insure that the regulations made for choosing Natives of Great Britain for the Public Works Department in India, shall not be a bar or hindrance to the employment of Natives of India in like service.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed)

E. B. EASTWICK,

Chairman of the Council of the East India  
Association.

20, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.,  
December 22, 1874.

---

*Reply to the above.*

India Office, January 12, 1875.

SIR,

I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge receipt of the Memorial of the East India Association praying that arrangements may be made so as to insure that the regulations for choosing Natives of Great Britain for the Public Works Department in India shall not be a bar or hindrance to the employment of Natives of India in like manner.

In reply, I am instructed to inform you that Civil Engineering Colleges have been established in various parts of India for the purpose of training candidates for employment in all grades of the Public Works Department. From these colleges Natives of India have passed, and continue to pass, into the Public Works Department, and promotion of all in the service, wherever educated, depends only on merit and capacity.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed)

LOUIS MALLET.

## APPENDIX B.

*Opening of the Indian Civil Service to Natives.*

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in this present Parliament assembled.

*The Petition of the Council of the East India Association*

HUMBLY SHEWETH :

That the East India Association was instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy, and promotion by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally, and that it numbers among its members several Natives of the highest rank and position in that country, a large number of gentlemen who have served with distinction in the Civil and Military Services of India, and certain Members of your Honourable House, as well as of the other House of Parliament.

That your Petitioners think that they would be wanting in their duty to the great interests which they have at heart if they did not bring prominently before your Honourable House the great delay which has taken place in carrying out the provisions of the 33rd Viet. cap. iii. sec. 6, for affording facilities for the admission of the Natives of India into the Indian Civil Service.

That it has been found among people of our own religion and blood, and notably in the United States of America in the last century, and in Canada in the present, that there is no more fertile source of ill-will to the mother country than the exclusion of those born in distant dependencies from offices of rank and consideration in their native land, the salary and the emoluments of which are paid out of taxes levied on themselves and their fellow-sufferers from such exclusion ; while, on the other hand, there is no more effectual bond of loyalty and affection towards the governing State than freely throwing open such offices to those thus circumstanced, and who have, undoubtedly, if they can only prove themselves to be properly qualified, the fairest claim to them.

That this principle was recognized, in so far as it relates to India, so long back as the Charter Renewal Act of 1833, when it was enacted that no Native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty born therein, should by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. This enactment, however,

has been made a dead letter, so far as appointments in the Indian Civil Service are concerned, by the establishment of rules for the appointment of members of that body, which, by holding the examinations in London, and rendering it essential for success that the candidate shall have passed at least two years here, practically exclude from the competition all, with a few rare exceptions, who are Natives of India.

That the same principle was again recognized by the Act 33 Vict. cap. iii. sec. 6, which provided that no law then in force should restrain the authorities in India from appointing any Native of India to any office, place, or employment; and that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to define and limit, from time to time, the qualification of Natives of India, provided that every resolution made by him for such purpose shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not have force until it has been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

That these enactments remain inoperative so far as all the offices exclusively held by the Covenanted Civil Service in India are concerned, by reason of the omission or prolonged delay of the Government of India to frame such regulations as were intended by the enabling Act of Parliament above cited.

That this omission or delay is justly felt as a grievance by our Native fellow-subjects in India.

Wherefore your Petitioners pray your Honourable House, taking the premises into consideration, to adopt such measures as to your Honourable House may seem most expedient towards the obtaining a remedy for the grievance in question, and rendering effective the opening up the Indian Civil Service to Natives, which has already been sanctioned by Parliament.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed on behalf of the Council of the East India Association.)

E. B. EASTWICK, Chairman.

20, Great George Street, Westminster.

## APPENDIX C.

*East India Civil Service.*

THE rules relative to the appointment of Natives of India to the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India have been issued, and are as follows:—

In exercise of the power conferred by the 33rd Vict., cap. iii., sec. 6, the following rules have been prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and such rules have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of the members present:—

1. Any Native of India, as defined in the said statute, may, if of proved merit and ability, be appointed to any office, place, or employment in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India to which appointments may be made by the authorities in India.

2. Such appointment, if to an office, place, or employment to which appointments may be made by a local Government, shall be made only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

3. Every such appointment, whether made by a local Government or by the Governor-General of India in Council, shall be forthwith reported to the Secretary of State for India in Council, and shall be made subject to disallowance by the said Secretary of State in Council (provided that such disallowance shall be signified to the Governor-General in Council within twelve months from the date of the receipt of such report).

4. Every such appointment shall, in the first instance, be provisional only. (a.) Every person obtaining such a provisional appointment shall, within two years from the date on which he takes it up, pass the departmental examinations prescribed by the rules of the Service, unless he be specially exempted by the Governor-General in Council from being so exempted. (b.) On the expiration of the said term of two years, the Governor-General in Council may, upon the report of the local Government, or on such inquiry as he thinks fit to make as to the character and qualifications of the persons appointed, either confirm such appointment or cancel the same. (c.) Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to preclude the cancelment of any such appointment before the expiration of the said two years, if, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, it is established that the person provisionally appointed has been guilty of misconduct, or has failed to discharge efficiently the duties of his office.

5. Every person so appointed shall be subject to such conditions as to leave and pension as the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in Council, may, from time to time, prescribe.

## LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS.

- Maneckjee Aderjee, Esq. (1869).  
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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and  
promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests  
and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

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*The Position of Turkey in Relation to British Interests  
in India.*

PAPER BY REV. J. LONG.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, HELD AT 20,  
GREAT GEORGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, ON TUESDAY, DEC. 21, 1875.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD, K.C.S.I., C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the members of the East India Association and their friends was held at the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George Street, Westminster, on Tuesday afternoon, December 21, 1875, the subject for consideration being "*The Position of Turkey in Relation to British Interests in India*," introduced by the Rev. J. Long.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD, K.C.S.I., C.B., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were: Lord Sandhurst, Prince Iskander Khan, Sir Henry Havelock, Major-General Sir Henry Greene, Lieutenant-General Sir David Russell, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Major-General Marriott, General Baillie, General Alexander, Colonel W. E. Evans, Colonel Grant Allan, Colonel French, Colonel Rathborne, Colonel M. Greene, C.B.; Colonel Horace Browne, Colonel H. L. Evans, Colonel Barnard, Major Champain, R.E.; Major Wood, Captain Grant, Captain Palmer (Honorary Secretary of the Association), Rev. William Denton, Rev. G. Small, Rev. James Davies, Dr. H. Baillie, Dr. D. H. Small, Dr. H. Sandwith, Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. George Browning, Mr. A. Calder,

Mr. John Congreve, Mr. G. S. Mankar, Mr. Paton, Mr. W. G. Baillie, Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge, Mr. K. Nicholls, Mr. B. F. Hall, Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, Mr. G. T. Williams, Mr. F. J. Goldsmid, Mr. W. T. Blair, Mr. D. Mackenzie, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Mr. Helis, Mr. D. Macfarlane, Mr. J. Sewell White, Mr. J. B. Lawson, Mr. Lockhart Gordon, Mr. Jones, Mr. Martin, Mr. R. B. Swinton, Mr. J. S. Laurie, Mr. M. J. Wallhouse, Mr. W. Austen, C.E.; Mr. Ruces Uddin Ahmed, &c.

The CHAIRMAN briefly introduced the Rev. J. Long to the meeting by saying that he was probably known to most present as one well qualified by personal experience to speak upon the very important subject they were gathered to consider.

The Rev. J. LONG then read the following paper:—

1. The subject for discussion this afternoon is “The Position of Turkey in Relation to British Interests in India.” The position of Turkey in relation to the European Powers has been taken up most fully by the Press throughout Europe; but the subject for this meeting has been little dwelt upon—viz.: In case of the probable occupation of Asia Minor by one of the Northern Powers sooner or later, with the consent of the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris, what might be the effect of this on English rule in India in relation to the 240,000,000 Natives in that vast dependency, including 40,000,000 Mahomedans,—on the position of Russia with 150,000 troops not far distant from the Indian frontiers, and on the communication between England and India *vid* Egypt?

2. The Turkish or Eastern Question—a burning one—is gradually coming to the front, and the late happy measure of the English Government with regard to the Suez Canal will hasten the unfolding the drama of the Eastern Question, and bring it to some kind of settlement. It involves, however, problems of the most serious and difficult character, which may task the highest powers of European statesmen to solve; and Mr. Disraeli has rung a warning note in the following remark, expressing the views of the leading political parties in England: “The interests of England in the settlement of the Turkish Question are not so direct as those of some Powers, but they were considerable, and they would be maintained; and if it became necessary to resort to a display of British power, that power would be displayed.” He refers evidently to England as what he calls an Eastern Power; but, happily, he does not express the view that the integrity of Turkey is necessary to the safety of India. Constantinople may sink, while Calcutta may stand as erect as ever. Is Constantinople the key to India?

3. In the discussions on Turkey, Indian interests have been too much overlooked, as they were at the time of the Crimean War; and all I aim at now is to place certain facts and views before the public, not so much to express my individual views, but as queries, with the object of opening out a discussion, and so eliciting truth from the collision of opinion. I am mainly led to this inquiry because these problems have been before me during a thirty years' residence in India, a two years' tour in Russia, and two visits paid to Turkey, and I am interested in these on moral and religious as well as political grounds, but the present discussion should obviously be based on the latter consideration. While there has been a deluge of literature on the Eastern Question, proposing all kinds of schemes, and reminding one of Molière's patient who died from the attendance of three physicians and two apothecaries, on the other hand India's interests have been seldom the standpoint, though the Central Asia Question, so vital for India, is linked with that of Turkey, and Anglo-Indians have a stake in Turkey as well as Turkish bondholders. The question relates to eventualities that may soon be actualities: matters are maturing much sooner than was expected; but forewarned ought to be forearmed.

#### THE CRISIS HAS CALLED FOR EUROPEAN INTERVENTION.

4. The death-knell of Turkey is sounding, bankruptcy indicates a political crash, while England sees now that her blood and treasure so freely spent for the upholding Turkey have been utterly wasted. Turkey has borrowed 200,000,000*l.* sterling in twenty years, and there is nothing substantial to show for it; her independence and integrity guaranteed by treaties the result of hard-fought battles, are a dream. The Crimean War, undertaken to support the Sick Man, has rather hastened his end; for twenty years new efforts have been made to improve Turkey, but they have ended in galvanizing a corpse; Turkey remains a mimicry of civilized life, a mere foreign garrison encamped in the fairest regions of the East.\*

\* India has an ethnological interest in the Turkish or Tartar races; history depicts those tribes issuing from the plateau of Central Asia and pouring forth in two streams—one going west from the Altai, the Turkish one, and spreading ruin and devastation in its track, sweeping up to the walls of Vienna, leaving only traces of ruin behind; it stopped completely the overland trade, which had for ages been carried on from China and Central Asia, across the Black Sea, and through Constantinople, to Central Europe. The other stream, the Mogul, came to India, and has left behind it many glorious monuments and remains of civilization; while the former, the Turk, only pulled down and destroyed. It would be an insult to the memory of the mighty Akbar to compare him to Amurath or any Turkish Sultan.

Turkey stands now in the way ; she is a menace to the peace of Europe. Could she have been reformed, it would have been a boon to herself and to humanity ; but there is no hope of that, as a certain proverb expresses it, " Where the Turk treads the grass grows not." There is a varnish over Constantinople, but the irreclaimable savage of the Altai crops out from beneath. The reforms have been little better than shams—mere pretence : look at the Hatti-Sherif, or Edict of Toleration—it was scarcely ever carried out ; yet, to blind the public, the original copy was deposited with the relics of the Prophet ! Fifty years ago George Canning pronounced the Turkish Government a nuisance ; that nuisance has now become offensive. The Mogul Government of Delhi passed away last century, its antitype is going this. The shadow of the Kaliphate is joining the shadow of the Great Mogul—both dreary—as phantoms of the past, albeit in their day they were styled the refuge of the world—the shadow of God on earth.

#### THE EUROPEAN POWER TO REPLACE TURKEY.

5. The present is a favourable time to discuss this question calmly. It was felt by various Anglo-Indians at the time of the Crimean War that India's interests were not regarded sufficiently on that occasion : hence Russia, shut up in a southerly direction, in consequence of the war, pushed on the eastern slope until she now hangs on the flanks of India. I merely refer to this very difficult question in order to introduce the main point, Who is to have the estate of the Turk, a now dying man ? A Government in the hands of trustees ceases to be a Government, and foreigners are taking the helm which the Sick Man's feeble hand can no longer grasp firmly. *Greece* has put in a claim ; but Greece is "living Greece no more," and cannot manage even her own small territory. She is well described as a focus of intrigue, anarchy, and brigandage. The *Danubian Provinces* are too undeveloped themselves, and too anarchical, even to form by themselves a Confederate South Slav Government, much less to rule Turkey ; though this is the age of great agglomerations, and they may have to form part of some greater government. *Austria* is a mosaic Power without cohesion, with tremendous difficulties lying in her own path from the majority of her subjects, who are Slavs, and who detest her because she has degraded them ; she rules her Slav subjects like a man holding a bull-dog by the throat, finding it difficult to retain the grasp, but very dangerous to let go. *Germany*, like America, has no ambition for Eastern rule,—the consolidation of her empire is sufficient occupation. Another plan has been proposed, on the Anglo-Indian model, to pension off the Sultan, leaving him as the Great Mogul was left in Delhi, with all the paraphernalia and

pomp of a sovereign, but superseding him gradually by a more enlightened administration—leaving him as the Pope is in Rome, but making Constantinople a free city, under the joint protection of the European Powers, as Belgium is ;—but the cases of the Black Sea and Cracow show that neutralization is a very difficult thing amid rival Powers. The last candidate is *Russia*, whose tendencies are to the sunny south and eastward slope, away from foggy St. Petersburg ; her extension in the Caucasus and on the Persian frontier places her geographically as the nearest neighbour to Turkey.

Supposing that, with the concurrence of England, France, and the Northern Powers, Asia Minor comes under Russian rule, would not this, like any European rule, be a blessing to the millions in those regions so long desolated by Turkish barbarism? Would not the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose? Russia itself, with all its shortcomings, has made great strides in reform during the present reign, and more are in progress. Would not that civilization which is turning the Crimea into a garden, and has planted the fair city of Odessa in localities last century overrun by Tartar hordes, be extended to the south of the Black Sea ; and would not Asia Minor's great resources be developed by railroads, canals, and all the machinery of civilized life which is changing the face of Russia itself, where we see that, notwithstanding the Protective system, England carries on a good trade with Odessa and St. Petersburg? Would not the Christians of Turkey be placed in a higher position, and Turkish intolerance be suppressed, by the temporal power and pride of the Moslem being fully broken?

6. Asia Minor must fall to the lot of some European Power ; and what Power but Russia is in the position to take the helm? What a field is presented in 673,000 square miles of some of the finest land in the world with harbours on three seas, mighty rivers and ports both on eastern and western waters, mines of iron, lead, copper, and silver in abundance ; and a soil capable of producing any quantity of grain and cotton ! Regions renowned in story are now given over, under the Turks, to miasma and wild beasts, and the peasantry are abandoned to starvation.

But whatever effects the occupation of Asia Minor by Russia may have on the inhabitants of Turkey, the question for England is, how would it affect British India ?

(a.) Would it have much disturbing influence on the 40,000,000 Moslems in India, and the 200,000,000 other Natives ?

(b.) Would it give more prestige and support to that army which is now Russianizing Central Asia, and threatening the Indian frontier ?

(c.) Would it affect England's position with regard to the Suez Canal

and the proposed Euphrates Valley Railway extension through Asia Minor?

RUSSIA'S OCCUPATION OF TURKEY AS AFFECTING THE MOSLEMS  
IN INDIA.

7. The effect on England's prestige in the East would be very different according as Asia Minor was occupied by Russia with or without the concurrence of England. With the former there would be no loss of prestige. People talk of the effect on the Mahomedans of India by England being the ally of Turkey, but it certainly was not seen in the Mutiny, when our bitterest foes were the Moslems; and nothing excited more ridicule against England among the Natives of India than when they heard that a ball was given in London to the Sultan, at the expense of the people of India, in order forsooth to conciliate the Mussulmans of India. When the fall of the Sultan comes it will have as little effect in India as the fall of the Pope's temporal power had in America. Ignorance and sectarian bitterness isolate the Indian Moslems from the Turks; besides, the different sects of Mahomedans in the East hate each other cordially, as we see with the Shiah and Suni, and are as bitterly antagonistic as Protestant and Papist in Europe. The other 200,000,000 Natives of India are too much occupied in their own concerns to be affected by a country so distant from them as Asia Minor, whereas it is from Central Asia that Russia's prestige penetrates into India, and which impresses on the Natives of India a profound awe of the Russ. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The buzz of the bazaar indicates a constant expectation of the advent to India of the men that have knocked down the Khanats as ninepins.

8. Moslem pride and fanaticism have ever proved in India the strongest barriers against the advancement of European civilization, and while England has done much to raise the Hindus, the Moslems have hitherto proved a wall of brass; any unfavourable news arriving of the further fall of the Crescent at the hand of the Christian Kafir may tend to lower that pride and teach them that the days of Amurath and Arangzeb are passed away for ever. There is much truth in the remark General Kauffmann made to me at St. Petersburg in reference to the Central Asian Moslems: "Their pride must first be humbled before the light of Christianity and civilization can penetrate." The crumbling of Moslem power in Constantinople, Ispahan, Delhi, and Samarkand are signs of the times to the Indian Moslem, who is gradually learning that the pride of six centuries of conquest is levelled in the dust, that the Sultan who bears the title of Amir-al-Momenim is being shorn of all his power, and that the shadow of the Kaliphate is going down, as the shadow of the Great Mogul has gone down in Delhi. There

is an apparent revival, but it is only the flare of the candle before it goes out. The light is beginning to break on the intelligent class of Natives in India, indicating to them that though Russia and England may differ on certain lines of policy, yet that in putting down feudalism, princely oppression, and the insolent claims of the Moslem, they go hand in hand.

#### RUSSIA'S OCCUPATION OF TURKEY AS AFFECTING CENTRAL ASIA.

9. The point I wish to submit is, Is not Russia now like a mighty stream whose waters you cannot easily dam up, but you may partially divert them into another channel? In other words, the stream of Russian development and conquest flows at present in a Central Asia direction, is dashing up against our Indian frontier, and undermining its bulwarks, which are weak.\* If that stream be turned partly into another channel, its natural one—viz., Asia Minor—you are saved from great evils to both Empires, or, at least, of two evils you choose the lesser: there is less likelihood of collision from Russia's developing herself in Asia Minor than in Central Asia. Is it not safer for England to have Russia in force on the Mediterranean, than on the Hindu Kush and frontiers of Afghanistan? In the former case she confers a benefit on humanity, in the latter she would suspend much of England's civilizing work in the land of India, and would attack her in a position where she might have no allies, and where her navy could afford no help at the base of the Himalayas; in the former field Russia has plenty of scope, a "wide sea berth," in the latter she is involved in intrigues and miserable disputes. The case of Abraham and Lot applies to Empires also; full occupation prevents intrigue. Unless a safety valve is opened, the pent-up vapours might find a dangerous mode of escape.†

\* The advance of Russia in Central Asia is generally admitted to be a boon to humanity, but those optimists who think there is no danger in the position in which Russia is now placed with regard to British India, ought to weigh the following observation as one among many: "The English Ambassador at St. Petersburg said, in 1869, to the Russian Government, 'Were Russian troops to enter Afghanistan, or the provinces contiguous of India, a cry for defensive measures, which would find an echo in every town in England, might excite public opinion to a degree which would force the English Government into a policy of antagonism to Russia which it is their anxious desire to avoid.'" Such works as Trench on "Central Asia," Vamberg's "Central Asia and its Frontiers," Stumm's "Russia's Advance Eastward," Ferrier's "Afghanistan," and Sir H. Rawlinson's "England and Russia in the East," prove that, in case of war, a strong array of Russian bayonets might appear on the Indian frontiers.

† Lord Dunsany, in an able work, "The Gaul and the Teuton," remarks on this subject: "In 1854 the eyes of Russia were turned to the West and her back to India. Repulsed in the West, she turned to the East, and a very short space now separates her advanced posts from our East Indian frontiers. Had we



10. There are two great currents of Russian extension—one on the south towards Turkey, gradually widening and deepening since the days of Catherine ; the other, with two branches, rushes on, one south-east towards Persia, the other east towards China, dashing in its way along our Indian frontier. This current has, as an affluent, 150,000 men, the army of the Caucasus, designed as an army of reserve for Turkistan, which would require a strong Indian embankment to resist it directly ; but, as Sir H. Rawlinson said, “you cannot resist Russian encroachments, but “you can parry the blow and divert it.”\*

Russia is a great military Power, which in a few years will be backed by 3,000,000 bayonets. The advances it has made from the Caspian during the last fifteen years show what it is capable of the next fifteen. Khiva went lately ; Kokand is gone ; and Kashgar, a barrier to Russia's onward move towards China, and a focus for Moslem raids against Russia, will probably be the next to go down the stream. This will bring Russia close to Kashmir and Kabul ; within the next ten years a railway will be completed from Russia to Tashkend, and another line will be opened from Russia to Tehran, from which latter place extensions can be easily made to Herat ; while a railway from Russia to India itself will ere long be carried through.

11. What is the Indian embankment that is to stay this current ? Only 60,000 European troops for the whole of India (240,000,000). While there is much loyalty and content among many of the people, yet let us not shut our eyes to the following points : We have against us—“a seething, “fermenting, festering mass of Mussulman hostility,” 40,000,000 in number, for whose moral and material improvement England has done little ;—the military and priestly class, Hindu or Mahomedan,—those Native Chiefs whom we have justly deposed for their oppressions of their subjects ;—the mob and “the blackguardism” of the population are our foes ; while our European agents are becoming less adapted to and less influential over the masses. We can hold on even under these conditions, but active antagonism to Russia means raising the European army in India to 100,000 men, to be maintained by increased taxes, which signify increased discontent and the consequent withdrawing funds from the development of the country.

12. It is easy work for Englishmen in their island home, fenced in by failed in the Crimean war, and Russia been successful in her designs on Turkey, she would have had far too much occupation in Europe to have made progress in Central Asia. Success was on our side, and upon the road by which, if at all, Russia must invade India, her advance has been immense, and, what is more, well secured.”

\* See on this Rawlinson's “Russia and India in the East.”

the ocean and defended by Volunteers, to talk of repressing Russia; but it is a very different thing in India to meet a powerful military nation on the frontiers, with tens of thousands of enemies ready to start up behind on any favourable opportunity. What a shameful sight would be exhibited to the Heathen of two Christian Empires wasting on inter-necine strife the resources they need so urgently for working out the material and moral improvement of the East!

13. The Central Asia, Indian, and Turkish Questions are, then, closely connected together in this respect, inasmuch as the former is used by Russia as a leverage to ease England's action against her in Turkey, or, as a Russian journal states it; "The diplomatic controversy is transferred from the banks of the Bosphorus to the slopes of Peshawur." A St. Petersburg paper refers to the conquest of Khiva in the following words: "A second route has been opened out to India, and England is put face to face with us, no longer at Constantinople, but on the northern slopes of the Peshawur mountain range." India is the Achilles' heel, where England is most vulnerable, though some have fancied the Russian march towards India could be stayed by neutral zones or embassies. Must not the solution of the Central Asia Question be sought not at Calcutta, but at Constantinople—not from General Kauffmann, but from General Ignatieff?

14. Russia has made *very* rapid advances in Central Asia, Khiva has been annexed, Kokand has just been incorporated with Russian territory, and Kashgar, which is a barrier to Russia's onward movement towards China and an obstacle to her supremacy in Central Asia, must soon follow in the track of that semi-Oriental empire whose slope is to the East. With the annexation of Kashgar, Russia will be brought to the frontiers of Kashmir and Afghanistan. This, with the advance in the direction of Herat, and with Persia, as Sir H. Rawlinson admits, a mere instrument in Russia's hand, will require the greatest forbearance on both sides to prevent a contact becoming a collision, that would be a deadly blow to the cause of Christian civilization in Asia. The sentiment of Gregorief, late Governor of Western Siberia, on this point is a noble one: "It would be derogatory to the dignity of two great nations like England and Russia to engage in a contest of petty intrigue, or to strive at mutual injury by exciting and fostering revolt among each other's subjects." May not the safest way, however, of meeting this exigency be by easing the pressure, and by not interfering with Russia's current flowing towards Asia Minor, thereby lessening the strength of that dashing on the Indian frontiers? Central Asia, with its population not much larger than that of London, with their wants few and mode of life

simple, does not afford sufficient scope for the energies of a growing Empire like that of Russia.\*

#### RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

15. Mr. Farley, in his excellent and candid work, "The Decline of Turkey," proposes that Constantinople should be a free city, under the joint protection of the European Powers, its municipal matters being managed by deputies elected by a Company like the old East India Company, composed of the holders of stock and foreign creditors of Turkey. Others have proposed joining Roumania with Constantinople as a neutral State—like Belgium; and one writer has advocated the giving Constantinople to the Duke of Edinburgh, as son of the Queen of England and son-in-law of the Emperor of Russia. Neutralizations are desirable but difficult things, as the neutralization of the Black Sea and of Cracow a free city show; but should the Canal of Suez and the Bosphorus be neutralized, it would be a great benefit to international communication, as the Bosphorus may hereafter become a channel for the trade of Central Asia and Central China, as it was in the Middle Ages, before Turkish rule swept like a simoom over all trade and civilization. It may be to Central Europe in a degree what the Canal of Suez is to South Europe. But who will hold the keys of each in such a case? is a question for the future.

16. One great difficulty in the peaceable solution of the Eastern Question and in the occupation of Asia Minor by an European Power lies in who shall occupy Constantinople. Though the Queen of the Bosphorus has been looked upon as another Gibraltar, and Napoleon the First pronounced that the master of Constantinople would be the master of the world, yet it may be a question whether the real military power of Russia, rapidly developing in the Black Sea since

\* On this subject we give a quotation from a very able pamphlet, "L'Impasse Orientale," by Baron Charles, Bruxelles, 1871—a man evidently behind the scenes. He says: "Those who have lived in intimacy with Russian diplomatists know perfectly well that Russia dreams not of the conquest of India, but her commanding position (in Central Asia) gives her the means of exercising, under certain circumstances, a pressure very menacing for English rule in India. If a war broke out between Russia and England, Russia could very easily lead the Khanats of Central Asia, Persia, and even the Afghans into a campaign against India, not to conquer, but to revolutionize it, and in this manner to paralyze the English force which ought to defend Constantinople." Many other passages could be quoted, showing that there is a policy which means the extrusion of Russia from Turkey is her intrusion into India. I am no Russophobic, but the optimist view which, ostrich-like, hides its head and says there is no danger, is equally mistaken. Our motto should be "Defence, not defiance; watchful, not suspicious."

the abrogation of the Black Sea Treaty, would be greatly increased by the mere possession of Constantinople. Russia could have at her command in the Black Sea eighty ships of the Russian Steam Navigation Company, which can be armed, and all whose officers belong to her Navy; and in a restored Sebastopol connected last year with the Russian network of railways, she can accumulate any number of troops within thirty hours' sail of Constantinople, which could take the forts of the Bosphorus in reverse, while in Nikolaief she has another Portsmouth. Her railway connecting the Caucasus with South Russia is now finished, so that she could mass 100,000 troops at Sebastopol, facing Constantinople.

17. But, on the other hand, while the popular feeling and historical recollections of Russia are in favour of supplanting the Crescent by the Cross in Constantinople, some of her ablest men doubt whether it would be for Russia's interests to occupy the city. They know well the jealous feeling it would excite in Austria, Germany, and England; but, above all, they fear its tendency to break up the Empire by giving it another centre than St. Petersburg. On this we quote the opinion of Gurowski, a Russian author, who, though he looks on the occupation of Constantinople by Russia as her "manifest destiny," yet states the following as the probable result:—

"The monarch and his grandees will yield to the temptation. They will abandon the cold, misty, frozen, marshy, mouldy, and gloomy region of St. Petersburg, with its monuments of murder and of parricide, for the unrivalled beauty of the Bosphorus, where, in their ambitious intoxication, they will believe themselves the masters of the world. But history attests that to conquer and occupy Byzantium is to sink into effeminacy. . . . The Greeks, the Fanariote, the Slavic Rajah of the South, will soon prevail in the palace—it may be in the modern seraglio—against the genuine Russian. By-and-by they will surround the master, creep into his councils, and crowd out therefrom the man of the North. Even the cunning and servile German, so influential now in the northern capital, will be pushed aside. . . . In one word, the court in Byzantium or Czarigrad will soon cease to be Russian; it will become estranged to the nation, and autocracy will soon become disabled. It will lose its control over the people, its old indigenous flavour will disappear, the historic ties between the Czar and his subjects will be rent asunder; the man of the North will cease to recognize his hereditary master in the despot revelling on the Hellespont. . . . A great mart will be opened, not only for the exchange of goods, but likewise for that of ideas. Through Constantinople the Russian people will mix freely, not only with the few foreign merchants and speculators visiting or established in St. Petersburg, but with the world at large. This broad opening for commerce will, like a pioneer, carve the way for other and more bright results. Nowhere will commerce prove to such an extent a mediator of civilization as when Constantinople shall initiate the Russian people to the trade of the world. All the forces and resources of the country will turn naturally towards the south, following the lordly currents of the Dnieper, the Don, the Wolga, and its affluents. Now, during six months of the year the Baltic is frozen, but the communication through Constantinople will know no interruption. . . .

Western ideas and culture will make their way, and irresistibly stimulate the whole empire. What is now benumbed will be raised to elasticity and to cosmopolite intercourse. Odessa is already one of the most liberal and facile spots in Russia, where despotism is felt less painfully. Intercourse on a large scale with other nations will result, and the Russian, the man of the people, will no more be kept, as now, isolated from his brethren. His suspicion against everything foreign—a sentiment carefully fostered and nourished by the Government—his sulky coyness, will successively melt away and disappear: the inborn sociality of his character will prevail, rendering him generously friendly with the foreigners."

18. Would not Russia, however, at Constantinople be a constant source of jealousy to Austria and Germany in relation to the Slavonic Provinces and the Danubian Valley? The German people like the Russians as little as they do the French; while the Russians look on the Germans as "sausage-makers, dummies," as the men who, like Scotchmen in the colonies, monopolize all the good things of Russia, and have striven to denationalize their country. There is a Russian proverb expressing the popular feeling:—

"The German may be a good fellow, still it is better to hang him."

RUSSIA IN TURKEY WOULD BE ANTAGONISTIC TO AUSTRIA.

19. Russia already feels the heavy expense Central Asia is to her, and few compensations are to be expected from countries so poor in population and so undeveloped, though they are a stepping-stone in her trade route to China along the borders of Kashgar. Asia Minor, on the other hand, will afford her a far finer and richer field, and full occupation not only in the country itself, but from the complications that may arise with Austria and Germany.

20. Austria can no more agree permanently with Russia on the question of the Danubian Provinces than she could with Prussia on the hegemony of Germany. The Slavs in the Danubian Provinces dislike Austria as much as they do Germany; and though they sympathize with Russia in religion, race, and language, yet they have a wholesome dread of being under the Russian tchinovik or bureaucracy; they do not forget the history of Slav Poland; they would be glad to use Russia as a means of throwing off the Turkish yoke, but they wish to be as independent of Russia as of Austria.

Austria, ruling over a population the majority of which are Slavs, must view with jealousy a Power like Russia—Pan-Slav in its tendencies, with 50,000,000 Slavs in her empire—the drift of whose policy must be to rear up a great Pan-Slav empire, which might drag into its circle the Slavs of Austria—14,000,000 in number—who, repelled since 1867 by Count Beust's chilling dualism, see Russia as the only beacon for them, though they would prefer independence of Russia if they could be secured against

the rough Germans and ruder Hungarians ; yet, failing this, the Slavs of Austria and of the Danube see Russia as the only barrier against German absorption, and they hope that when Russia gets free from her German bureaucracy they may fit into a decentralized administration.

General Fadeef, of the Russian Army, in his able pamphlet on the Eastern Question, translated from the Russian, in 1871, gives some very good examples of the antagonism of Russia and Austria.\* We give a few extracts : “ In two questions of vital importance to Russia—the Eastern “ and the Polish—Austria can be both the shield and the weapon of “ the hostile part of Europe. . . . It is in Austria’s power to push “ the force of a European coalition against Russia’s western frontier. “ . . . She can open a road to the Vistula by revolutionizing Poland, “ as she threatened to do in 1856. . . . It would be an act of sui- “ cide on the part of Austria to consent to the solution of the Eastern “ Question in a Russian sense. How can it be expected that she will “ consent to the creation along her southern boundary of a Slavonian “ Piedmont, which, from its homogeneity, would carry dissolution not “ only into one corner of the possession, but into the very body of the “ empire ? ”

RUSSIA IN TURKEY WOULD BE AN OBJECT OF JEALOUSY TO GERMANY.

21. Dynastic unions are not permanent. In the last Franco-German War the Czar was on the side of Germany, but the sympathies of his people were with France ; the Russian people dislike the Germans very much, and this is reciprocated. Germany has little sympathy with the Slav language, literature, or races, whether in Poland, in Russia, or on the Danube. An anecdote will illustrate this : When Frederick the Great heard that the rural population of Pomerania still spoke Slavonian, he ordered *an end to be put to such a disgrace*, and the *disgrace* no longer existed towards the end of his reign. Various German writers have invited the Slavs “ to disappear from the face of the earth, history having “ provided no corner for them.” The Slavs see the fate of their race in German Poland, where the German is as irreconcilable to the Slav as the Saxon in Europe is to the Celt.

The Germans would scarcely view calmly the mouths of the Danube and the Bosphorus passing into the hands of Russia, as the Danube, with its 100 tributaries and 1,400 miles of length, is the commercial heart of Central Europe, draining 14,000 square miles of territory, joining Germany, Turkey, and Austria. In the Middle Ages the Danube was the highway of commerce between the East and Central Europe, Constantinople being the grand depôt for distribution. Will Germany let

\* “ Fadeef’s Opinion on the Eastern Question.” London : Stanford. 1871.

the mouth of this be in the hands of a foreigner? Germany has an interest with England in maintaining the balance of power in Europe, especially in relation to France and Russia.

#### RUSSIA IN TURKEY AND THE SUEZ CANAL.

22. The recent firm measure of the British Government in so promptly purchasing the Khédive's shares in the Suez Canal has indicated that England has felt the time has come when her Eastern policy should not be left to drift like a ship without chart or compass among quicksands with breakers ahead. It has called forth an unanimous opinion, indicating the hold India and its artery to England, the Suez Canal, have even on the insular mind; it indicates that England is throwing off her shopkeeping policy and is adopting an Imperial one, which has the federation of the Empire as its aim, and that she is determined not to be reduced to the condition of a second Holland. It signifies also a policy of defence, not defiance. As Lesseps has stated: "The English occupation of the Canal is a guarantee for the peace of the whole world." We trust it may forecast a further line of action, now that we have secured our water-way to India, not to meddle and muddle with the Sick Man's inheritance—simply let it alone.

23. The third point is, How would the occupation of Asia Minor by Russia command the Suez Canal? To consolidate her position in Asia Minor would take half a century. Ere that period elapses, may not Russia's torrent of conquests be weakened by diffusion, as ours is in India? Nations, after a period, find that extension of territory is not only very expensive, but a weakness. Even taking the extreme view, that Russia became strong in the Mediterranean, would it not be easier for England to meet Russia in the Mediterranean than on her Indian frontier? There would be England's fleet in the Mediterranean, besides her command of Malta, Gibraltar, and the watchful jealousy of other Powers who have an interest in securing the neutralization of the Canal. As respects the command of the proposed Euphrates Valley Railway by Russia, she can control that without holding Asia Minor; but in time of war, England has the Suez Canal route as an alternative, and in time of peace it would be Russia's interest to protect it as she does the telegraph lines. Russia's line of communication will be, ere long, with the North of India by her Central Asia Railway, one branch of which is being made from Russia to Tehran, and may be extended to Herat; the other may run along the Northern Indian frontier. The rail will serve Russia in the North as a short cut to Eastern Asia, as the Canal of Suez serves England in the South of Asia.

#### THE RELATIONS OF RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.

24. The tone both of the English and Russian Press on the Eastern

Question has been moderate. England has lost much of her Russo-phobia; and Russia, who in 1833 claimed the *sole* protectorate of the Christians, now seems disposed to work *jointly* in the same line with Germany and Austria, at the same time inviting the co-operation of the Powers, signatories of the Treaty of Paris.

The English Press, watchful but not suspicious, is accepting as a fact a great Russo-Asiatic Empire, that *may* extend through Northern China and develop south to the shores of the Persian Gulf, rivalling in extent our Anglo-Indian one, and running conterminous with it north and south—an empire that may surpass that of Alexander; the hope is that these two empires may run parallel without intersecting each other, each having its distinct, independent interests—different, though not necessarily clashing. The East formerly meant Turkey and Mahomedanism; it now means Russia and England—Pan-Slavism and Anglo-Saxonism,—and peasants' rights, the common aim of both.

To no two empires in the world and their subjects is the importance more apparent of a good understanding than to those of England and Russia, for much of the civilizing work of England in India and of Russia at home and in Central Asia would be undone by hostilities. Eastern Native dynasties are mouldering in the dust: are their mischievous energies, like those of the Turks, to be still kept up by the rivalries of Christian Powers?

25. The issue, however, comes to this: If England opposes the Russian advance in Turkey, Russia will checkmate her by a policy in Central Asia disturbing to the position and prestige of England in India. She has a leverage here, which will be very strong when her railway lines towards the Indian frontier shall be completed—a work that may be finished within the next ten years, restoring the old trade route between Central Europe, Central Asia, North China, and North India; and where goods go troops can proceed.

26. As a sign of the times, a remarkable article appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1874—"Provincial Turkey"—written evidently by one acquainted with the country, who begins by a quotation from Admiral Slade: "Although, in the opinion of some, it matters little to England whether an Othman, a Romanoff, or a Hapsburg rule on the banks of the Bosphorus, it does, in the opinion of all, concern her much whether a Turk or a Frank rule in the Valley of the Nile."

We quote the view of the *Quarterly* on this subject; it finds an echo in the hearts of many\* :—

"When that hour comes, let the Ottoman Empire fare as it may, England's policy is clearly traced out for her beforehand by the exigencies of her own great

\* See in a late number of *Fraser's Magazine* an article on "Turkey," in which



empire. To Russia, mistress of the Central Asiatic line, belong of necessity the destinies of Northern Turkey : they are already in her hands. Her Asiatic policy, long consistent throughout, now draws to completion. One foot planted on the Amor boundary line to the east, and the other on the Caucasian Isthmus to the west, she has gathered up in her unrelaxing grasp the two extremities of the great Tartar route ; her latest campaigns have cleared away the obstacles interposed midway ; while, by her celebrated note of October, 1870, she demanded, and by the Conference of January, 1871, obtained, that the key of the whole mid-Asian system the Black Sea itself, should be placed henceforth within the reach of her hands, ready to wrench it, whenever the hour strikes in the councils of St. Petersburg, from the feeble grasp of the Osmanlee, and to make it all her own. That she will, sooner or later, thus wrench it ; that the Russian flag will float supreme over every port on the Black Sea coast ; that it will even one day wave in sovereignty from the towers of Galata and the Seraskierat,—is scarcely less certain than that the sun once risen in the east will move onward to its place in the western heavens ; a wonder-working Joshua may perhaps delay, but cannot reverse its course.

“ What Russia is to Central, that are we to Southern Asia ; it is our inheritance, the reward of our consistency in act, if not in purpose. We, too, have almost reached the goal ; and the very events that will ultimately award the Black Sea to our northerly ally, will, we can hardly doubt, decide for us also into whose hands the key of our choicest possession, the Southern Asiatic route, will fall. For, once again, what the Black Sea is to Russia, that to us are the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. From Muscat to Yokohama the Indo-Chinese line is ours : the completion of that line, its last, and because its last its most important, connecting link is formed by the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. To these shores must all our attention—as much, at least, as we can spare from disestablishing Churches and marrying our sisters-in-law—be directed, when the Crescent vanishes from them in its last eclipse ; and unpardonable indeed will be our weakness, our negligence, or our folly, if a single harbour, a single roadstead along their extent, acknowledge in that day any sovereignty but our own ; if not in our name, at least in that of a supple instrument or a docile vassal.”

#### CONCLUSION.

I have thus glanced in a very brief way over the various topics of this very comprehensive, pressing, and practical subject. I will now conclude with a summary of the chief points at issue, and the problems to be worked out by discussion.

(1.) The principle of *non-intervention* with Continental politics has been of eminent advantage to England at home and abroad. Is not such a policy also applicable in relation to the probable occupation or control, sooner or later, of Turkey by one or more of the Northern Powers ?

(2.) England having secured her Indian interests, in case of any eventualities in Turkey, by purchasing the Khédive's shares in the Suez Canal, do the interests of India require any intervention to prevent the occupation or control of Turkey by any of the Northern Powers ?

he argues Asia Minor can only be raised by an European Power, and that Power Russia : “ It will be a good thing for Turkey, and no harm to the world, when the long-meditated conquest is completed.”

(3.) Would not England's intervention have the following evil effects: Producing unfriendly relations with Russia, so detrimental to India. The two Powers, England and Russia, are now neighbours in Central Asia, and hostile feelings arising from the Turkish Question might lead to collisions dangerous to the interests of the two Empires and the civilization of Asia under the guardianship of both.

(4.) Would not the antagonism of England and Russia in Turkey mean antagonism on the Indian frontier also? The disputes on the Bosphorus would extend to India, near whose frontiers Russia now is; and one of the causes that impel Russia on is to checkmate England "by transferring the diplomatic quarrel from the banks of the Bosphorus to the slopes of Peshawur." Does not English interference with Russia in Turkey mean, therefore, Russian interference with England in India?

(5.) Some European Power may, sooner or later, occupy or control Asia Minor. Should Russia, with the consent of the other Powers, do so, would it not contribute to the happiness of the Christian population, the development of the resources of that vast country, once so fertile and cultivated?

(6.) Is not Russia a mighty, rising Empire, requiring expansion? Asia Minor would afford for many years a field to task her energies, without bringing her into collision with England, as she is in danger now of doing in the narrow field and barren localities of Central Asia, where the torrent flows undivided; whereas, partially diverted to Asia Minor, it would be weakened, and would gradually diffuse itself in a fertilizing stream.

(7.) Would not Russia in Asia Minor be watched by the jealous Empires of Austria and Germany? and would not the gradual effect in Russia itself of the possession of Constantinople be to displace the centre of power at St. Petersburg, leading to a decentralized system which would give more moral, but less military weight?

Major-General MARRIOTT, rising promptly, said he did so principally because he knew that his friend Mr. Long was desirous of eliciting discussion on the subject of his address, and that if some one set the ball rolling, discussion would follow quickly. The problem proposed was as to what effect the occupation of Asia Minor by Russia would have upon Indian interests. Mr. Long divided this into three questions. First, what would be the effect on the Mahomedan population of India—upon their sentiment and religious feeling, and what would be the consequent action? secondly, what the effect would be upon the present tendency to occupy Central Asia manifested by Russia; and, lastly, the effect upon England's position with regard to the

Suez Canal. For himself, his answer might be very unsatisfactory, but it was very simple, upon all those points, as it would be, that nobody knows. But, taking the first question, what would be the effect of the Russian occupation of Asia Minor upon the Mahomedan population of India? It might be that the feelings aroused by the practical extinction of the Kaliphate might be so weakened by distance that its effect in India would be inappreciable; or it might, on the other hand, revive and intensify the present tendency of Mussulmans to be dissatisfied with the English power and dominance—a tendency caused by religious feeling and recollections of the time when they were the dominant race; or it might have the effect of discouraging them by humbling their pride, as the Rev. Mr. Long had suggested. As to the effect upon the present tendency of Russia to occupy Central Asia; the reverend gentleman compared it to a great flood which could not be dammed up, but might be diverted or divided, and assumed that the occupation of Asia Minor by Russia would divert it thitherward, where he said it would prove a fertilizing stream. But the advance of Russia in Central Asia is at great cost of men and means, and, following Mr. Long's figure of the stream, we might as reasonably say that the physical fact, characteristic of Central Asia, that some of the largest streams are lost in the sands of the desert, is a type of what will happen to the Russians in their advance. Mr. Long had himself insisted on the great cost to Russia of her present position in Central Asia. Would she be better or worse able to meet that cost if she occupied Asia Minor? Undoubtedly, with possession of Asia Minor and the Black Sea, with the control of the mouths of the Danube and with the whole of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean added to her seaboard, she would eventually be more capable than ever of meeting the cost of occupying Central Asia. Again, as to the effect those circumstances would have on England's position in the matter of the Suez Canal. Russia would certainly have more power to interfere with English interests; but whether she would so use that power, he would not prophesy. With reference to the closing observations of the lecturer as to the eminent advantages England has derived from non-interference, Mr. Long appeared to argue that England should not interfere with the advance of Russia in Asia Minor simply because any opposition would make it probable that Russia would endeavour to injure us in India. For himself, he would confess to be anything but enamoured of the principle of non-intervention. It might have eminent advantages from a selfish point of view, as might truly be said of many other selfish actions. If one sees an outrage or wrong being done and feels he has no power to render any useful aid, and that any interference

would only bring additional and useless injury to himself, such circumstances make non-intervention right, but do not elevate it to a principle. On the contrary, any one having the power to rescue the wronged ought to take some risk in doing so, even though there were obvious advantages in passing by without taking any action. The Samaritan only lost his time and twopence by attending to the traveller who fell among thieves, while the priest and the Levite found much advantage in passing by on the other side. (Hear, hear.) They saw much merit in non-intervention. But his own idea of the position of England was that, as a great naval Power, she ought to take a forward part in preserving the peace of Europe, although, from a selfish point of view, it might be better to keep out of the way and leave others to cut each other's throats. As to India, her interests may be identified with the true interests of England; and those interests concur with her duty, which is to take such action as will be likely to permanently secure the peace of Europe. He would not pretend to indicate the particular course to that end, but he was quite sure that the best policy would be most surely found by adherence to the principles of international ethics, which are identical in every respect with social ethics. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEVERIDGE said it appeared to him that the occupation of Turkey by Russia would have no appreciable effect upon English interests in India, provided that England did not oppose such a course. To his mind, however, it was a question whether England was not bound by treaties to maintain the independence of Turkey. In that case he supposed England would have to resist Russia. He considered that as the Turkish Government was hardly entitled to consideration as a government, any Christian Power taking it would benefit the world at large. But supposing—and he believed it was the case—that England was obliged to defend Turkey, there was no doubt in his mind that Russia would make a counter-movement on India. The name of Russia was well known in India, and a great many disaffected Natives who had before aided in the Mutiny were looking forward to Russia. In 1864, when, during the Bhootan war, the English were unexpectedly resisted, there was a current report that men with fair hair and blue eyes had been seen among the Bhootans, and that these men were Russians. It might be dangerous, therefore, if we had to oppose Russia in Turkey, and might lead to a great deal of difficulty in India. To him, however, it seemed that there was one practical conclusion to which they might come, and that was, that it was the duty of the English Government to conciliate the Natives of India as far as possible; for however great and powerful Russia might be, she could do little without the

connivance or assistance of the Native Princes of India. England has it in her power in a great measure to make them remain quiet, and to prefer her rule to that of Russia; but at the present time he had to observe that he had not discovered a very active spirit of loyalty among the Natives. In Bengal they did not object much to the English, but they did not heartily love them; whilst in Upper India there was apparent dissatisfaction. It was essential, therefore, to the maintenance of English rule to adopt conciliatory measures, and, by respecting Native States and giving as much of the government and administration of the affairs of the country into the hands of the Natives, to show them that they have much to gain by preferring the rule of England to that of Russia. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. H. SANDWICH, referring to the idea mooted of intervention in Turkish affairs, proceeded to observe that the difficulty was to know when the time was ripe for intervention. Twenty years ago we ventured into a great war to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and yet, at the present moment, no empire was so dependent, or presented such evident symptoms of imminent dissolution. What was the condition of Turkey? Surrounded on all sides by vast and powerful empires, each jealous of the other and watching for the spoil, the Ottoman Empire seemed doomed. Under these circumstances the duty of England was clear. We have a vast dependency, and, at all hazards, we must have a clear and ready road to it. Formerly we looked to the Bosphorus as our road to India; but the construction of the Suez Canal has made Egypt the obvious road, and our interest, therefore, in Turkey was materially lessened. We must maintain our communication with India by occupying Egypt, if necessary, and thus keep that road clear. With regard to the position of Turkey in Europe, we could not do better than act cautiously in combination with the other Powers, exactly as in the case of Servia several years ago. When Servia was in a similar position to that of Herzegovina at present, and the lives of the people were made a burden to them by the extortions of their Mahomedan landlords, the Servians rose, precisely as the Herzegovinians have done, first by a few men escaping from the collectors' rapacity, and flying to the mountains and resisting, until gradually the insurrection spread all over the country. The result of this was, as every one who had read the history of Turkey knew, that, through the aid of Russia, Servia gained, not an independence, but an autonomy of its own. Since then the country has improved in many respects, although, truly enough, it is still backward. Its roads are bad, its agriculture is rude; but there is security for life and property under a fairly good government, which were blessings unknown in the olden days. The demand of

Herzegovina at the present time is the same as that of Servia was, and he (the speaker) was of opinion that Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Montenegro should also be put into the same position as Servia. Each of these should have its own autonomy, under the suzerainty of the Sultan; and, on the other hand, let the Greeks take Macedonia and pay a small tribute to the Sultan. Reverting, then, to the Russian Question, Dr. Sandwith said that no doubt there was a sort of Russophobia about England which led to the movements of Russia being watched with suspicion, which sought to find ulterior motives for all her actions, and hence injustice was often done to Russian policy. She had been much denounced for tearing up the Black Sea Treaty, but what else could have been expected? When a treaty is imposed upon a nation by force of arms, it will infallibly be broken when the nation recovers its strength and finds a propitious hour; and he believed that England, under similar circumstances, would have done the same as Russia. Putting an hypothetical case, he asked, supposing England to have had her fleet sunk and an extremely harsh treaty forced upon her, would the terms be kept a moment beyond the time when they could be safely broken? In concluding, Dr. Sandwith pointed out that, as a matter of fact, England was under great obligations to Russia—as, for instance, in the years 1828-9 the Black Sea was a Turkish lake, with commerce of the narrowest and most restricted dimensions; but at that period Russia threw it open to all nations, and now it was crowded with vessels from every port, a large proportion of them being British ships.

Mr. AHMED next addressed the meeting, and, in the course of his opening remarks, somewhat warmly complained of the tone of the opener's address as offensive to the Mahomedans, he being one. He expressed his sorrow that a man belonging to the profession sacred in the eyes of a large part of mankind—an Englishman, a member of a highly civilized community—had seen fit to use such language as to term the Mahomedans "heathen." Coming, then, to the question for discussion—the bearing of the dissolution or integrity of the Turkish Empire upon English interests in India—it seemed to him that throughout Mr. Long's address it had been taken for granted that it was the duty of England to propitiate Russia, and to prevent Russia's tide of conquest from flowing into India by diverting it towards European Turkey. In his own opinion, one of two things must occur: either Turkey must remain an empire, an independent state, or she must crumble to pieces. There could be no intermediate course. In the opener's address it had been taken for granted that Turkey must cease to exist; and he took it for granted that, with the fall of Constantinople, the Asiatic provinces of Turkey also would fall from the dominion of the Sultan. Supposing

it were granted as likely that whoever took possession of Constantinople would take possession of the Asiatic provinces, if that Power was Russia, he was confirmed in his opinion, because Russia would not only have preponderance on the Black Sea, but the Russian forces in the Caucasus could come down on the Asiatic provinces. Suppose this to take place, and England takes possession of the Suez Canal, would it be beneficial for England, with her small army as compared with the millions of Russia, to be conterminous with the latter Power? Another question was, what would be the effect of the Russian conquest of Turkey on the Mahomedans of India? He must own to the extreme misfortune of being a Mahomedan, but he might remind the assembly that there were 40,000,000 of them in India. They had been told by Mr. Long that the proposed conquest of Turkey by Russia would humble them and curb their pride. That was a glorious task for England in the nineteenth century! (No, no.) He thought it was pretty well known to most present that the Mahomedans consider the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual head. Would they resist when their religion was about to be crushed? He opined that they would, should England co-operate with Russia in the task foreshadowed by Mr. Long—that of humbling and curbing the Mahomedan pride—and England would then have to confront the resistance of 40,000,000 of people. Would those people be to blame? No; it would be their sacred duty to resist, and they would resist with all their power. (Oh!) Having thus predicted the effect of Russia's interference with Turkey upon the Mahomedans and upon English interests in India, the speaker said he would advert to a few points in connection with frontier politics. Referring to the influence which he declared to be exercised by Russia at the Court of Tehran, he connected the cancelling of the grant made to Baron Reuter and a similar concession made to a Russian Company by Persia as also detrimental to England and English interests, and then asked: Supposing England allows Russia to exercise greater influence in Turkey, and even to take possession of Turkey, would that prevent Russia from operating in India? He predicted that it would not have that effect, but that Russia would be able to move either from the north or the west; for either Persia would enter into a defensive and offensive alliance with Russia, or she must submit to the imperial will of Russia, for if she resisted she would be crushed. The speaker then pictured Russia powerful in Persia, established on the frontiers of Afghanistan, and with the road to India also open, *vid* Kashmir, with influence even at Peking and Japan; and then claimed to have shown England the danger of her position in being conterminous with such a mighty Power as Russia, possessed of such material advantages and such large forces wherewith to avail herself of them.

General Lord SANDHURST then rose and said that the meeting had listened to a rather excited discourse from the last speaker; but in that assembly no one would regret that the question should be viewed from every standpoint, and although the standpoint of the last speaker was of a somewhat excited Mussulman character, he could only say that he was glad to have the question discussed even from that point of view, although he might take exception to the manner in which it had been considered. It might be necessary to reflect on the serious consequences which might follow from the policy sketched out by Mr. Long; but he was bound to say he did not gather from that gentleman's words any desire, any wish, or even the slightest suggestion, injurious or offensive to those who participated in the religion of the last speaker. (Hear, hear.) He was therefore inclined to think that the gentleman who preceded him had, swayed by a mistaken but legitimate feeling, hardly treated the opener of the discussion with the fairness that he merited. (Hear, hear.) To advert to the serious consequences raised by the last speaker, he for one, having had large experience in India, would not admit that there was anything like that hostile feeling amongst the Mussulman population towards the British Government which seemed to have been discovered by Mr. Ahmed. He looked back to the administration of several Governor-Generals, and more especially to that of the lamented Lord Mayo. What was the last thing done by him? Almost the last action of Lord Mayo was, by means of a comprehensive system of education, to raise the Mahomedan population, and to give them a much higher status in the vast community comprising 200,000,000 of subjects in British India, and, in fact, to do justice to them, as having suffered immensely from the revolutions of the last sixty or seventy years. The policy of the late Lord Mayo had doubtless been followed by his successor, and that just and generous policy, with all its great results, ought not to be treated, if fairly viewed, with the scorn and contumely expressed by the last speaker.

Mr. AHMED here interposed to disclaim any intention of expressing hostility towards the British administration in India. What he meant to point out was that if the Mahomedans were trampled upon elsewhere with the concurrence of England, a feeling of hostility would arise.

Lord SANDHURST (continuing) said he accepted the explanation, and would revert to the real question before the meeting. He thought that Dr. Sandwith's remarks were of great value in the consideration of the matter. If they went back, say, about 130 years, they would find that Montesquieu, or one of his contemporaries, used precisely the same language in reference to Turkey as was used by the Czar Nicholas.



Turkey was already "a Sick Man" about to "fall to pieces." Turkey was in certain diplomatic circles discussed in somewhat the same cavalier way as to-day. From this a lesson might be gathered. Notwithstanding the speculation of that day, Turkey had continued for 130 years in existence as an empire; and while those of the present day were discussing what might be done with Turkey, he would ask, were they quite certain that the crisis had really arrived which would justify such consideration? That, to his mind, was the real question. The question had been asked, if the existence of Turkey was guaranteed by an English treaty? He believed there was no such obligation. But they did know that the Treaty of Paris in 1856 contained certain conditions which had since been violated, and therefore any guarantee of the Powers would be open to very great question at the present day. Then, with regard to the effect upon British interests of the occupation of Turkey by another Power, supposing that ruin to take place, General Marriott had disposed of it by pointing out that they could only deal with it hypothetically. In such matters we must be guided by the circumstances as they arise, and exercise the same description of prudence as hitherto observed, and be ready to meet any immediate emergency on its merits. We must be satisfied with that which is seen, and not say, "Will such" and such proceedings of Russia affect us twenty or thirty years hence?" We must leave that for our sons to deal with. "Sufficient for the day" is the evil thereof; and he for one would decline to enter upon the discussion of what might never take place. Certain remarks had been made regarding the Suez Canal and the effect of the recent purchase of shares in that undertaking by the British Government upon the future policy of England; but Lord Derby had counselled the public to wait until Parliament assembled, and Lord Hartington, on the other side, had also declined to give an opinion until he had heard more about it. Under these circumstances, to his mind, it would be wise to adopt the same principle of reticence, and wait for further information before entering upon the discussion of the question as a matter of Imperial policy. ("Hear, hear," and applause.)

General ALEXANDER deprecated the introduction of the Mahomedan subject into the discussion, but what the meeting had heard, however, was the exact expression of the Mahomedan mind and heart as regarded politics and religion. Reverting, then, to the question of Russian advances towards India, he said that she was approaching through Persia, dropping down from the provinces east of the Caspian, and getting to the very doors of India, to which she had been gradually drawing nearer and nearer for years. When in India, many years during the Afghan War, he had an opportunity of learning the bias of the

Native mind, both Hindu and Mahomedan, and could, therefore, speak with some knowledge of the feeling that would be produced by the approach of Russia towards India. Upon the latter subject he referred to a pamphlet which, in his opinion, it would be well to have re-read or republished in the present juncture. It was written by one of the first diplomatists in Persia, and published anonymously; the writer was understood to be Sir J. McNeile; and in that *brochure* was traced the progress of Russia in the East from the days of Catherine, and it also described the occasions when the question of disputed boundaries had been raised. The great encroachments of Russia had been upon Persia; and by some means or other the powerful influence which England at one time had at the Court of Tehran, when British officers disciplined her army, had disappeared, and the onward progress of Russia had been to the serious weakening of Persia. To such an extent had this been the case that the Shah, Abbas Meerza, put it to the English Government in the words: "I am between two Powers; into the arms of one or the other I must fall." He (the speaker) had an opportunity of examining some diplomatic correspondence that took place at the time, and the English Ambassador was told that he "must uphold by moral influence the British power in Persia." What was the result? Persia became helpless and England's influence waned, while that of Russia increased. And now every day the papers give information of still further encroachments on the part of Russia in all directions, and on every hand she is improving her military communications, until it should be such that she may soon be knocking at the gates of India. He had formerly given much time to the study of the question, and was a Russophobist, and he reminded the meeting that as far back as 1836 a Russian agent reported to his Minister at St. Petersburg: "Persia, which was formerly Great Britain's outpost, has now become our first parallel of attack;" and ever since that he had traced Russia moving forward, both in the north and from the west, the side upon which India had always been attacked. To his mind it was a secondary question, so far as India is concerned, as to who should be in Constantinople, so long as England had the Suez Canal open for her communication with India; but it was important to observe how fast Russia was advancing through Persia and towards Kashmir. Only a little time ago Kashmir was thought to be inaccessible, but late years had taught a different lesson. In his opinion there was now nothing to hinder Russia from attacking India, as she has two means of access to that country; and in the event of a war with Russia, England would feel her "Achilles' heel" to be in India. If Russia were to advance 60,000 men to India, she could draw up

the English forces to meet them, and, by bringing with her army, whatever might be its strength, the hordes of the neighbouring countries, and holding out to them the plunder of India, she could embarrass us extremely, whilst at the same time affording opportunity to every discontented man, whether prince or peasant, within our dominion to show his mind and act accordingly. Thus England would have to contend not only with open enmity, but with restlessness and ambition on all sides. Referring to the statements made as to Russian spies having been seen in various parts of India, the speaker said that he personally knew of several, and had met with a foreign officer who had been through all the Indian military stations, and knew the strength of the forces at the various places, had examined the arsenals and estimated the capabilities of the officers, so as to be able to tell whether there was an old man or an efficient one in command. From that simple fact could be gathered some idea of what England should be prepared for. No one, however, could foretell what would really occur, for, as the *Times* recently put it, "what is unexpected is sure to happen." But, in his opinion, it should be to Persia, Central and Eastern Asia, that England should look for present means towards securing the safety of her empire in India—(hear, hear)—not forgetting that if war should suddenly break out, Russia has lately acquired a territory larger than Canada eastward of the Amoor river, that she has thrown up there a first-class fortification and naval arsenal; and it would be a question, whether we had a larger and more efficient fleet in the Eastern seas, as to what would become of our Chinese commerce, the protection of our Indian and Australian seaboard, and the opium traffic upon which the finance of India is so largely dependent.

Mr. AUSTEN, C.E., referred to the remarks made by a previous speaker (Mr. Ahmed), and deprecated the introduction of sectarian feeling into the debate, maintaining that the main object should be to promote social and good feeling towards each other throughout the world, putting aside doctrines and professions, for wherever these existed priestcraft would prevail. Proceeding, then, to remark upon the paper read by Mr. Long, the speaker urged that, in the event of difficulties arising in India, the projected railway through the Valley of the Euphrates would, when carried out, give England the means of communication with the chief places of India in seven days, and this would greatly surpass the facilities offered by the Suez Canal. But to carry out this grand scheme, Asia Minor should be kept out of the hands of Russia, as a great deal depended upon that territory in forming the continuous line of communication between England and India.

Mr. GEORGE BROWNING remarked, in reference to some

words that fell from the last speaker, stigmatizing the people in the northern part of India as "fanatics" and their religion as "fanaticism," that nothing was so damaging to English interests, nor so likely to produce unpleasant results, as these uncalled-for attacks upon the creeds of nations differing in religion from our own, for it is a well-known fact that the belief of one age is the superstition of the next. This question of creed and of the various outward forms of religion is a sensitive point with all people, and perhaps with none more so than ourselves. He felt sure, from an intimate acquaintance with men of all hues and shades of religion, there were many good points in each, and to call any man fanatic, or any religion fanaticism, was not at all in keeping with the age in which we live. Much good might be learnt from Mahomedans, Brahmins, and Buddhists, even with regard to religious thought and feeling; and though England stands on a high step in the civilization of the world, still it was in his mind a question whether we Englishmen might not gain by being tolerant, and improve in the practice of our own religion by studying, and not deprecating, the religions of those nations we so often pretend to teach.

Prince ISKANDER KHAN then rose, and prefaced his observations with the remark that he thought the lecturer had manifested an extreme love for Russia in suggesting that England should allow Russia to take as much as she chose in Asia as well as in European Turkey. As regarded the interests of India, as an Afghan, he felt that they were connected with England and not with Russia, although he could not refrain from expressing an opinion that Russia was coming to India sooner or later. Russia was fast becoming an importunate neighbour, and he was fearful that English interests must suffer. England ought, therefore, to interpose and prevent Russia from strengthening her position either in Turkey or in Asia. At the present time Russia was so close that she could march at any signal upon Herat, and, first taking Afghanistan, Peshawar, would soon follow. And what opposition would be offered? If the English want Sepoys to fight, they must secure the frontier; for once let Russia enter Afghanistan, and India would be gone. Without the necessary help, Indians would be able to do little against the intruder. Referring to the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, the speaker gave it as his opinion that England had done a great thing for the national interests, and for the interests of the British empire in India. With regard, however, to the suggestion that Russia should be permitted to occupy Turkey, the speaker contended that it would be detrimental to the interests of England. England had so much at stake in doing so, apart from the consideration of the feelings of the Mahomedans, that he could not think she would readily

permit such an occurrence. The balance of European power must be maintained, and therefore it must be for the political benefit of England to secure Turkey from Russian occupation.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE viewed with favour the proposition to make Constantinople and the adjoining territory neutral ground, and pointed to the manner in which the German Army, even when they would have been greatly advantaged by acting differently, had rigorously respected the neutral territory of Belgium, as forcibly illustrative of the benefits of the system. Constantinople and the provinces contiguous should be similarly neutralized, and placed, not under the influence of the Sultan, but under the influence of a Christian king; and this he regarded to be the best chance of safety, whilst, at the same time, it would have the effect of securing to us in war times the full benefit of the Suez Canal. Turning, then, to the question of a Russian invasion of India by way of Afghanistan, Colonel Rathborne said that when under Sir Charles Napier in India, Sir Charles was good enough to ask him for his opinion and a sketch of plan for defences, supposing India to be invaded upon that side. His experience showed him that there were enormous difficulties in the way of placing an army in India in that quarter, for not only would the army have to march across vast stretches of desert country, but it would have to carry its food, ammunition, and other *matériel*, each day's march taking it further from its far distant base. On the other hand, the British Government in India can raise good soldiers in numbers only limited by the Government's power to pay; arsenals and all the various sources of supply would be at hand, and the place of battle theirs to choose. To fear that under such circumstances the English could not repel the invader was, to his mind, ridiculous; and he was reminded at the moment of an incident that occurred in the campaign in Scinde, in which he took part. On one memorable occasion a message came from the Ameer to say that unless Sir Charles would hand over the Ameers made prisoners, he, with so many men, would march in upon the British force. Sir Charles sent the vakeel back, telling him to inform his master that he need not trouble himself, but that he (Sir Charles) would march out of camp in three days and give him his answer. When the vakeel had gone away, Sir Charles, turning to his officers, explained the position, saying, "Here we are; we have got so many more men and the Ameer has got so many less than at Meeanee, and if we don't give them the greatest beating they ever had, we deserve to be kicked back into camp." And viewing the threat of invasion of India by Russia, with the advantages possessed by the English, he regarded it as the height of absurdity to suppose the English could not repel the invader, and, repeating Sir Charles Napier's

words, he would say, "If we don't give them a tremendous beating, we deserve to be kicked out of India." (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said that the forcible and apposite remarks of Lord Sandhurst in respect of some expressions which had fallen from Mr. Ahmed relieved him of the duty of further referring to them. He could only say that, so far as he remembered, no offensive remarks of the character complained of had been made by Mr. Long. Mr. Ahmed had said that if England does not interfere to prevent Russia from trampling upon Turkey, he, as a Mahomedan, will esteem it his duty to rise in insurrection. He would ask Mr. Ahmed to give himself time to reflect on the good fortune he enjoys in living under a Government where such effusions can be treated as harmless. (Hear, hear.) Reverting to the general subject, the Chairman said they could not forget that it did not become the English people to support the gross misgovernment of Turkey in Europe simply because we fancy our political interests in another quarter—as hinted at by Prince Iskander Khan—might make it desirable that Russia should not supplant Turkey in her Asiatic possessions. The abominable and cruel manner in which the people of many of the Turkish provinces had been ground down ought not to be tolerated because it may be thought that the advance of Russia might endanger our rule elsewhere. Dr. Sandwith had sketched out a good plan for the amelioration of the condition of the Christian provinces of Turkey—Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the rest—and he quite agreed with that gentleman's suggestion that these provinces should be conceded a separate autonomy, like Servia, under the suzerainty of the Porte. In that way the dignity of the Porte would be saved, while, at the same time, the inhabitants of those provinces would enjoy the privilege of good government—a thing which experience had shown it would be quite hopeless to expect at the hands of the Turks under present conditions. An effete and corrupt administration had long controlled the affairs of the Turkish Empire, and each day it became worse. A good deal had been said as to the effect on the minds of Indian Mahomedans should it become known that an occupation of Turkish territory was to be made by Russia; but in this matter he agreed with Lord Sandhurst and General Marriott, that it was quite impossible to come to a sound conclusion. His own opinion was that the idea that there would be wild excitement and dangerous commotion in such an event was a highly exaggerated notion. As a matter of fact, only the educated Mahomedans in India would know what was going on, and would appreciate its importance; and it was extremely probable that the Mahomedan peasantry would go about their daily avocations in almost perfect igno-

rance or indifference as to whether the Sultan reigned at Constantinople or not. Even were all to be likely or possible that had been urged by alarmists, even were the Mahomedans in India likely to be profoundly moved on the subject, surely no one would urge that it was the duty of England to uphold the Ottoman Empire; for that was a question that should be decided upon its merits, and altogether apart from such considerations. Referring to the speeches of Prince Iskander Khan and General Alexander, the Chairman expressed his opinion that they had rather exaggerated the danger of the position of affairs in Central Asia, whilst the only part of Mr. Long's address which, in his view, was overdrawn was the estimate of the Russian power. Mr. Long had pictured Russian progress and career of conquest as a stream breaking against the frontiers of India, and undermining the bulwarks of the British power; but, in his opinion, years must elapse before Russia can make her recent conquests in Central Asia the basis of aggressive operations upon India; nor could he think that there was any solid ground for the belief that an attack upon India had entered into the schemes of her generals. He believed, as accounting for the advance of Russia in Central Asia, that Russia had yielded to the same imperious necessity of advancing as we had felt in India. When a civilized nation entered into such a region as Central Asia or India, they were obliged to go on and take more in order to keep what they had got. To stand still in such a case is to recede. Under an inexorable law, advance must be made, and this was Russia's history in Asia, as it had been England's history in India. Some of the speakers, in the course of the discussion, had, in his opinion, very much underrated the enormous difficulties that Russia would have to surmount in bringing an army to the frontiers of India, and any one could foresee what would be the result of an attempt to force the passes with an army laden with arms and baggage, and all the *impedimenta* which must necessarily be carried from an enormous distance. His own belief was that it was utterly impossible for an army to enter India by the northern passes, and his view was supported by Sir Henry Rawlinson and many others eminently qualified to express an opinion upon the subject. There was, however, one suggestion he would like to throw out, and Mr. Long, having had personal experience of Russia, would best judge of its value: Is it quite certain that Russia will continue, as we now regard her, a compact and great military engine in the hands of one man, and ready to be used for any purposes of aggression? (Hear, hear.) Every great nation has gone through its phase of internal dissensions and revolutions, and what reason is there to suppose that Russia will escape from the apparently inevitable result? Is it not possible that social and

political agitation may engross the minds of the Russian people, and divert them from schemes of foreign aggression and conquest? He had heard it said by men of experience that Russia is honeycombed with secret societies, and that the population generally is strongly democratic, whilst the well-educated classes are looking forward to the institution of a system of self-government, such as is enjoyed in other countries. In conclusion, the Chairman congratulated the Association upon the very interesting discussion which had taken place, the speeches of some of the speakers having been very valuable and authoritative: hence he thought the meeting was under great obligation to the Rev. Mr. Long for the able way in which he had opened up the subject, and he would, therefore, ask the meeting to join with him in giving Mr. Long a cordial vote of thanks.

This was agreed to by acclamation, and a similar compliment having been passed to the Chairman with the same unanimity, the proceedings terminated.

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Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

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*The Inexpediency of Legislation on the Subject of  
Law Reporting in India.*

PAPER BY DAVID SUTHERLAND, Esq.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION ON WEDNESDAY,  
MARCH 15, 1876.

MR. J. SEWELL WHITE IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, March 15, 1876, to consider the subject of "The Inexpediency of Legislation on the Subject of Law Reporting in India," introduced by Mr. David Sutherland.

MR. J. SEWELL WHITE, late Advocate-General of Bombay, occupied the chair; and amongst those present were Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Captain Grant, Captain Palmer (Hon. Secretary of the Association), the Rev. James Long, Mr. R. H. Elliot, Mr. George Foggo, Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Sheikh Ameruddin, Mr. G. S. Mankar, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Mr. R. C. Saunders, Mr. J. S. Russell, Mr. W. H. Payne, Mr. J. T. Wood, Mr. W. Clark, Mr. T. W. Rhys David, Mr. W. F. Hale, Mr. T. Forbes, Mr. Garbutt, &c.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN briefly introduced Mr. Sutherland to the meeting, and invited attention to the remarks he was about to offer.

MR. DAVID SUTHERLAND then read the following paper:—

In the beginning of 1875, an Act (No. II of 1875) was passed by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, which was as follows:—

"An Act to diminish the multitude and improve the quality of  
" Law Reports, and to extend the area of their authority.

“Whereas it is expedient to diminish the multitude and expense of the Law Reports published in British India, and to improve their quality, and to extend the local limits of the authority of properly reported decisions of the High Courts of Judicature established under the 24th and 25th Vict., cap. 104; and whereas, with a view to furthering these objects, the Governor-General in Council proposes to authorize the publication of reports of cases decided by the said High Courts, to be called the ‘Indian Authorized Law Reports:’ It is hereby enacted as follows:—

“1. This Act may be called ‘The Indian Law Reports Act, 1875;’

Short Title.

Local extent. “It extends to the whole of British India;

“And it shall come into force on such day as the Governor-General in Council notifies in this behalf in the *Gazette of India*.

Commencement.

“2. Every judgment delivered on or after such day by any of the said High Courts (whether by a Judge sitting alone, or by a Division Court, or by a full Bench), and reported in the said Indian Authorized Law Reports, shall have the same authority in all Subordinate Courts beyond the limits of the appellate jurisdiction of such High Court as, independently of this Act, it would have within such limits.

Limits of authority of authorized reports extended.

“3. No Court shall be bound to hear cited, or shall receive or treat as an authority binding on it, the report of any case decided by any of the said High Courts on or after the said day, other than a report published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.

Authority given only to authorized reports after passing of Act.

“4. Save as provided by Section II, nothing herein contained shall be construed to give to any judicial decision any further or other authority than it would have had if this Act had not been passed.”

Authority of judicial decisions.

The Secretary of State for India, however, objected to the 2nd Section of the above Act, and suggested that, instead of his disallowing the whole Act, it should be repealed by the Governor-General of India in Council, and re-enacted with the omission of the 2nd Section.

Accordingly, on the 29th of July 1875, the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse moved for leave to introduce an Act, which was passed into law in October following as Act XVIII of 1875. That Act, according to a notification in that behalf published in the *Gazette of India*, came into force on the 1st of January 1876, and is as follows:—

“An Act for the Improvement of Law Reports.

“Whereas it is expedient to diminish the multitude and expense of  
 Preamble. “the Law Reports published in British India, and to  
 “improve their quality; and whereas, with a view to  
 “furthering these objects, the Governor-General in Council proposes  
 “to authorize the publication of reports of cases decided by the High  
 “Courts of Judicature established under the 24th and 25th Vict., cap.  
 “104, to be called the ‘Indian Authorized Law Reports’: It is  
 “hereby enacted as follows:—

Short Title. “1. This Act may be called ‘The Indian Law Reports  
 “Act, 1875;’

Local extent. “It extends to the whole of British India;

Commencement. “And it shall come into force on such day as the Governor-General  
 “in Council notifies in this behalf in the *Gazette of*  
*India*.

Act II of 1875 repealed. “2. Act No. II of 1875 (*to diminish the multitude and improve the*  
 “*quality of Law Reports, and to extend the area of their*  
 “*authority*) is hereby repealed.

Authority given only to authorized reports. “3. No Court shall be bound to hear cited, or shall receive or treat  
 “as an authority binding on it, the report of any case  
 “decided by any of the said High Courts on or after the  
 “said day, other than a report published under the autho-  
 “rity of the Governor-General in Council.

Authority of judicial decisions. “4. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to give to any  
 “judicial decision any further or other authority than it  
 “would have had if this Act had not been passed.”

The real object of the new law, in declaring that no report of any case other than a report published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council shall be considered authoritative, is to set up an official set of Law Reports as the only authoritative set of Law Reports in British India; in other words, to establish a monopoly of Law Reporting in favor of the Government of India.

It is true that the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse, in moving for leave on the 10th March 1874 to introduce the original Bill, observed that his object was not at all to interfere with the *publication* of judicial decisions, but only with their indiscriminate *citation* as binding authority. But it must be obvious to any one that this is only to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope; for what doubt can there be for a moment that, if all except the authorized Reports are legislatively declared to be void of binding authority, all save such authorized Reports must cease to be published? Whether this was the object of the law or not, no one can doubt that it will assuredly be the effect,

for the decisions are *published* only to be *cited as authority*, and it is in the course of such citation that the conflict of opinion arises, even that healthy action and interaction with which it is as dangerous to interfere as with the operations of nature. To interfere with the citation of judge-made law is to contract its sphere of operation. To do so is nothing more or less than to interfere with the natural action of causes which enter into the very construction of our legal and judicial systems. It is to put arbitrary limits upon that which should have full and free scope for development, and is analogous to putting a Censorship on the Press, or an embargo on the free expression of opinion; for judicial decisions are to law very much what public opinion is to Government, and a monopoly in Law Reporting would leave the Legislature in the same kind and degree of darkness as a Censorship on the Press would leave the Executive.

Now it may be affirmed, without any fear of contradiction, that no such monopoly in Law Reporting was ever before heard of in the world. An attempt, indeed, was made, some years ago, by the projectors and promoters of the *Law Reports* in England to claim for their publication the privilege of exclusive citation. That claim, however, was successfully resisted on the ground that free competition was the surest way of obtaining accuracy, and that to confer the privilege of exclusive citation would be to claim infallibility for the reporter. In the *Solicitors' Journal* for 1867-68, vol. xii., p. 913, will be found a letter written to the *Times* by "A Barrister," who, in speaking of the competition between the *Law Reports* and the *Law Journal*, says: "Indeed, it would be the greatest misfortune that could happen to either, as well as to the profession, that the other should cease to exist, and thereby the stimulus to exertion be lost which fair competition alone creates;" and the writer concludes as follows: "Apart from the important question of intrinsic merit, the attitude of the Bench and the Bar is to be regarded. In practice, every barrister arguing before a Court cites from the Reports which he has in his own library, and the judges very wisely and justly listen, for the most part without partiality, to those publications which are cited before them. At the same time, attempts made here and there by the zealous friends of the *Law Reports* to attribute to that publication a character which it does not possess, have been rebuked from time to time by more than one Judge; and the view of one most distinguished Judge upon the point is given in a report of a case which appeared in the *Times* of the 14th of January 1867. Counsel having cited a case as reported in the 'Authorized Reports,' 'How authorized?' asked Mr. Justice Willes. 'By the Council of the Law Reports,' said the counsel. 'I knew of no such authority,' said his

“lordship. ‘Every gentleman at the bar is entitled to report a case, and have it cited as authority reported by him.’ It appears, therefore, that merit is the true test of the position of any Reports of judicial decisions, and there is no such thing known as any ‘authorized’ edition; and I have ventured to submit these remarks to your notice because, from your absolute silence as to other Reports, an impression might be created in the public mind to the effect above mentioned—namely, that no Reports deserving the title other than the *Law Reports* existed. I think that what I have stated is calculated to show that any such idea is without foundation. I will not occupy your valuable space with any discussion as to the merits or demerits of a monopoly of Law Reporting. All that I say is that at present no such monopoly is in existence.”

In confirmation of “A Barrister’s” statement, it is only necessary to add that the *Law Journal*, the *Law Times*, and the *Weekly Reporter* continue to this day to be published concurrently with the *Law Reports*.

Now, no reason has been or can be given why that which is considered unnecessary, inexpedient, and impolitic in England should be otherwise regarded in India. It will be seen, on the contrary, from the account which will presently be given of the course of legislation on the subject, that no measure has met with stronger opposition than Act II of 1875.

In moving for leave to introduce the original Bill into the Legislative Council on the 10th March 1874, the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse read extracts from a letter from Mr. Justice Markby, which the Honorable Member characterized as “very useful as conveying a tone of warning and caution,” and in which that learned Judge noticed it as *a novel feature in legislation, unprecedented in the annals of the world*, that the Legislature should recognize as binding authority the decisions of Law Courts. So far, however, from replying to the objection thus advanced, or giving heed to the “warning and caution” conveyed, the Honorable Member merely contented himself with admitting their “truth and wisdom.” Mr. Justice Markby’s objection had reference, or at least applies, as well to the present Act as to the former; for though the present Act does not distinctly say that the Government Reports shall be authoritative, yet it calls them in the Preamble “the Indian *Authorized Law Reports*,” and declares by Section 3 that none but the Government Reports *shall be received or treated as a binding authority*.

In the same speech the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse attempted to meet the vital objection to his Bill—namely, that, in reserving to the Government of India a monopoly of reporting the decisions of the High Courts, it confers on irresponsible reporters functions scarcely inferior

to those vested in the Legislative Council. He justified the vesting of reporters with this power by relating an anecdote "which had been told "him by the late Lord Campbell," to the effect that what had been reported of Lord Ellenborough's decisions were not really what Lord Ellenborough had decided, but what his reporter (Lord Campbell) had selected; and the Honorable Member at the same time added: "Well, "we dare say, in the hands of such men as Lord Campbell, both Lord "Ellenborough and the public were safe enough; *but other cases had not "been so happy.*" In now placing, however, this immense power in the hands of reporters in India, what guarantee has the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse given to the Judges or the public that the barristers (necessarily of inferior standing to the Judges) to whom the selection of the judgments of the High Courts will be entrusted, will be at all more "happy" than the "other cases" to which he has referred, or that the power to be reposed in them will not be abused? It is true that the Honorable gentleman, in introducing the Bill into the Council on the 24th March 1874, said that the reporter will not decide between good and bad law, but must report a case if it is of "sufficient importance." But suppose he does not, how is the omission to be discovered, or how can it be rectified afterwards should it be discovered? Besides, taking the Honorable Member's own explanation, the reporter will still be free to decide between important and unimportant decisions. What guarantee has the Honorable gentleman given against the personal feelings, party prejudices, or private opinions of the reporter? What is to secure the public against the *views* of the reporter as to what is unimportant, and as to the well-known and proverbial effect of honest opinions and obstinate conscientiousness? What security will there be that the *dicta* of certain Judges will not be regarded as important, and those of others as unimportant, from the mere fact of their being the opinion of those Judges? Or, remembering the want of acquaintance of young English barristers with the *effect* of certain decisions on social life in India, what guarantee will there be against the reporter supposing that to be unimportant which was of vital importance, and *vice versa*? The only sufficient safeguard against such abuses is competition, the existence of independent publications, which will bring to the light judgments improperly suppressed, and render such suppression too perilous to be attempted. It is not, and cannot be, denied that in a large number of decisions there may be some "rubbish," as has been repeatedly proclaimed by the law reporting reformers. But the real question is, *where and by whom* are the threshing and winnowing processes to be effected—in the reporters' chamber, by irresponsible officials; or in the wide and open halls of Courts, and by the ventilation and concussion of free speech and public opinion?

In the course of the debate which ensued upon the introduction of the original Bill into the Legislative Council, the Bill was vehemently opposed and most unfavorably criticized by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir George Campbell), who described it as "*one of an enormous danger, and of an almost revolutionary importance*," and said that "*the great objection he had to it was that no safeguard had been provided, and there was no making out how the decisions which would be reported were to be selected*;" "there were (he said) about twenty or thirty such Courts (*i.e.*, High Courts, or Courts exercising the same power as High Courts), and all these Courts decided cases each in its own way, there being no decision of ultimate authority among the tribunals of this country; but *it was now proposed to put into the hands of the reporter enormous power, that of being A JUDGE OVER THE JUDGES*;" "*he did not approve of the proposal of authoritative reports, as he thought it placed the reporter in a higher position than the Judges themselves*;" he thought that the decisions of the High Courts were not binding on the Subordinate Courts, and he objected to the Bill because "the effect of it would be to make the Subordinate Courts bound by the decisions as reported in the Authorized Reports," and because "Section 3 of the Bill gave all authority to the Authorized Reports, and took away authority from those Reports which were not authorized by Government." The Honorable Mr. Hobhouse, in replying to Sir George Campbell, contended that he did not propose to confer on the Authorized Reports any greater authority than they would have possessed if the Act had not been passed. But to say that the Act will not have this effect is a transparent fallacy, for as the Act legislatively narrows the field from which the Judge is to draw his precedents, it follows that the Act must necessarily confer greater authority on the Authorized Reports than they would have possessed if it had not been passed; otherwise it is simply impossible to understand what necessity there was for the Act at all.

Then, again (as was urged by the High Court of Bombay in their letter to which reference will presently be more particularly made), there can be no proposition more completely contrary to sound principle than that of establishing a monopoly of Law Reporting in favor of, or placing Law Reporting in any way under the superintendence of, the most frequent litigant in the Courts of the country—namely, the Government itself—and allowing the reporters to be nominated, paid, or controlled by that litigant. In no part of the British Empire does it behove the Government to be careful that its relations with the tribunals of the country should be, like the chastity of Cæsar's wife, clear even of suspicion, more than in India, where the Government is of



a despotic or personal character, and where it has not always the most favorable construction placed upon its acts, not only by the Natives, but by the Courts also. As an instance of the latter, the following extract will suffice from a judgment passed by the High Court of Calcutta, on the 22nd of July 1869, in the case of "*Mooktakeshee Debea v. the Collector of Burdwan*" (12, *Calcutta Weekly Reporter*, p. 207):—

"Some observations were made in the course of the argument "casting imputation upon Government for their conduct in this case; "and for myself, I cannot help observing that, whatever the proceedings "on the part of Government may, in fact, have been (and I do not wish "to express any doubt that they have been taken with all the care and "deliberation which the occasion demanded), yet, as they have been presented before us, they appear to be *rash, careless*, and, I must also add, "*scarcely consistent with good faith*. And I think it falls within the "scope of our duty to draw attention to the fact, which cannot be an "unimportant one for the consideration of Government itself." In view of such facts, it behoves the Government to be most careful to do nothing by which it may possibly lay itself open to misconception and misconstruction, and especially not to assume to itself a power that will be, if not capable of being misused, at least certain to be misunderstood, and likely to subject the free action of the tribunals to a control at once unconstitutional and unwise. This is a danger to which the High Court of Bombay drew Mr. Hobhouse's serious attention, as follows, in their letter dated the 16th of July 1874:—

"Law Reporting is, in a certain sense, a branch of legislation. "Decisions in the Supreme Courts of Justice in the United Kingdom "and its colonies, which endure the test of time and free discussion, "no doubt become additions to the law; but it does not thence follow "that Law Reporting should be, in any respect whatever, under the "superintendence of the most frequent litigant in the Courts of "this country—namely, the Government itself—or that the reporters "should be nominated or controlled by that litigant. A proposition "more completely contrary to sound principle than that the reporters "should be either under the influence or control of Government, it is "difficult to conceive. *It is most undesirable to leave room for the belief "that Government has secured to itself, or its nominees, the power of "preparing or suppressing the reports of decisions which may happen "to be hostile to its interests or policy.* It may be said that it is not to "be supposed that Government would stoop to make an improper use "of such opportunities. We ardently hope that would be so; but if "there be any part of the British Empire in which such a power would

"be objectionable, it is in India, where the Government is more completely despotic than in any other country under British rule, and where it has not always the most favorable construction placed upon its acts. . . . Honorable and pure as we are assured that the motives of the present Government of India must have been in introducing this Bill, and suggested, as legislation on the subject of Law Reporting very probably was, by persons not Members of Government, yet it is manifest that, as regards Law Reporting, Government is in the position of Cæsar's wife, and that *no Government, present or future, ought to be subjected either to the temptation or the suspicion of being able to suppress the publication of decisions adverse to it or involving principles which it may deem likely, at some future time, to be inconvenient.* . . . Those who are acquainted with the earlier or later history of British India are not unfamiliar with the exhibition, by executive officers of Government, of jealousy of the Courts of Law of this country; and it is *an untoward, although, of course, merely a fortuitous, coincidence, that while Government, at the suggestion of such officers, is, on the one hand, seeking, so far as may be, to exclude by legislation the jurisdiction of Courts of Law in matters of revenue, it is, on the other hand, by legislation also, essaying the establishment of a monopoly of all authentic Law Reporting, whereby (although we cannot suppose its intention to have been so) it will be empowered to suppress at pleasure the publication of the decisions in such Government cases as may still remain within the cognizance of those Courts, and as may be obnoxious to Government.* . . . The fact that it will be left open to newspapers, and other ephemeral prints, to publish reports of the decisions of Courts of Law, will not be any sufficient guard against the *mischief of Government interference.* Such reports are not in a form so durable, available, or authentic, as to be of any utility for forensic purposes. *This Bill (Section 3) provides that no Court need give heed to any reports except those of Government manufacture; and owing to the pecuniary obstacles to the publication of Reports not supported or subsidized by the State, Government would practically possess a monopoly of Law Reporting for judicial purposes.*"

To the same danger, and in nearly the same manner, but in vain, was Mr. Hobhouse's attention directed by the Hon. Mr. Dalzell, who spoke as follows in the Legislative Council on the 19th January 1875: "He had some doubts whether the Government should take the power to which he had referred; *whether, in fact, it was desirable that Law Reporting in this country should in any way be under the control of the Executive Government.* The days of so-called 'personal' government had in a great measure passed away in the greater portion of the country

"The reign of law had commenced, and *he for one was decidedly of opinion that anything which could by any means be construed into an interference with the decisions of the Law Courts by the Executive had much better be avoided.* Now, he submitted that if the power of giving special authority to decisions was taken in this Bill, and was exercised, as it must be, by devolving the duty upon some official or set of officials in the ordinary employment of Government, *it would be quite possible, and by no means improbable, that the outside public should suppose that some such interference did take place.* The Council was aware that the decisions of the Superior Courts were binding upon all the Inferior Courts. Well, if the persons who reported the decisions of the Superior Courts were under the orders of the Executive Government, instead of under the orders of the Judges who pronounced the decisions, *there was no guarantee that judgments adverse to the views of the Executive on any particular point would not be suppressed, and a control be so exercised over the decisions of the Subordinate Courts on the same subject.* His Honorable and learned friend (Mr. Hobhouse) ridiculed the notion of any such idea being seriously entertained, and he (Mr. Dalzell) did not for a moment suppose that anything of the sort would ever take place in practice, but still it would be possible, and some of the public might think that it did take place. At any rate, it might often happen, with independent reporters, that a decision would not be reported in a manner calculated to give it the precise bearing which was intended by the officer delivering the judgment."

Regardless, however, of the opposition offered in all quarters to the Bill from the Governments and High Courts of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, the Chief Court of the Punjab, the English and Native Bars of the Presidencies, and almost the whole of the Press of India,—notwithstanding the admission made by himself (Mr. Hobhouse) in the concluding words of his speech, "that there was a great deal of dislike to and suspicion of the Bill in *some (? all) quarters,*"—and in spite of the objections again urged by the Honorable Mr. Dalzell as well to the Bill itself as to the expediency of proceeding with it before the receipt of further representations against the measure then shortly expected (as announced by telegraph) from the Governments and Judges of Bombay and of the North-western Provinces,—and in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Richard Temple), who had officially recorded various objections to the Bill,—the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse declined to accept the Honorable Mr. Dalzell's motion to postpone the passing of the Bill, and persuaded the Legislative Council, on the 19th January 1875, to proceed with the Bill without delay (when there was no necessity, under any circumstances, for haste in dealing with

so important a measure), and that, too, *upon purely personal grounds* (i.e. the value of the Honorable Member's time and his avowed inability to attend to *two* measures at a time), in consequence of which the Honorable Mr. Dalzell was constrained to withdraw his opposition to the Bill, and so the Bill was passed into law forthwith.\* Though that Act has been repealed, the objections above referred to had special application to that portion of it which has now been re-enacted, and which legalizes the establishment of a Government monopoly of Law Reporting.

Lastly, the interference of the Legislature (as has already been hinted before) was, to say the least, wholly unjustifiable, and not only entirely unnecessary, but altogether beyond the necessity of the case, in order simply to enable the Government of India to authorize the publication of an improved set of Law Reports. For, even admitting that the Government is at liberty to supply its Judges with, and can with propriety issue, whatever Reports it pleases, the Government can, under no circumstance, be justified in interfering with the freedom of the practitioners to buy or cite from whatever Reports they please (particularly Reports which publish only the *recorded* judgments of the Judges), unless, indeed, the object of the Government, in establishing for itself a monopoly in Law Reporting, be pecuniary gain to itself. If, however, the sole desire of the Government be simply to improve the quality of Law Reports and to provide its Judges with an improved edition of Select or other Reports, surely no law is necessary to enable it to accomplish that object, for (as has been repeatedly urged in the printed papers relative to the Bill, and in the debates in the Legislative Council) not only is there nothing to prevent the Government from doing so, if so disposed, without recourse to legislation, but it would thereby also avoid interfering either injuriously with the publication of existing private Reports, or arbitrarily with the right of the public in general, and of the practitioners in particular, to choose their own Reports, and (what is worse) of establishing in favor of itself a monopoly in Law Reporting throughout British India.

As to "diminishing the number and expense of the Law Reports published in British India," which is recited in the Preamble as one of the objects of the new law, the Hon. Mr. Hobhouse, in his "Statement of objects and reasons" of the original Bill, stated that "at present *six sets of Reports* are published in India at an annual cost to the purchasers of about *Rupees 300*," thereby implying that every professional man was under the necessity of purchasing all these six sets of

\* The statements here made, as well as all previous references to the proceedings of the Legislative Council, will be found fully borne out by the published authorized reports of those proceedings.

“ Reports,” and of paying “Rs. 300” annually for this necessity ; whereas, in point of fact, no professional person is under the necessity of subscribing to any more publications than a single set of Reports of the decisions of the High Court to which he belongs. In Bengal there has been the choice between two publications, the annual subscription to which was Rs. 36 and 45 respectively. Very few subscribed to both, while many did not subscribe to either. The annual cost, therefore, to any professional man in Bengal need not have been more than Rs. 36 or 45 instead of Rs. 300 ; while in the other Presidencies it was still less.

Then as to the “multitude of Reports” and the evils arising therefrom : from whom did such a complaint emanate ? Did it proceed either from the Judges or the practitioners ? Let the answer to these questions be made by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the Judge of Hooghly. In his letter to the Government of Bengal, under date the 11th April 1874, in which he submitted his opinion on the Bill, that gentleman observed as follows :—

“ The diminution of the multitude of Law Reports by the legalized publication of only one series proceeds on the assumption that at present all connected with Court business do of necessity provide themselves with Reports of all the High Courts in British India. But it is well known that, with extremely rare exceptions, this is not the case. In my experience, I have never known a pleader who had any except the Calcutta Reports. Judges of this Presidency are supplied by Government with only the Bengal Law Reports, some may privately subscribe to the Weekly Reporter ; but, on inquiry, I believe it will be found that very few see the Reports of the Courts of other Presidencies. I apprehend that elsewhere no difference will be found to exist. Therefore I submit that to diminish the multitude of Law Reports when any evil arising from that multitude is not generally felt, and to add to the number of authorities and reported cases which Subordinate Courts are bound to recognize and follow, will not tend to afford any relief, such as is evidently contemplated, but will rather import a greater element of uncertainty as to the state of the law than exists under the present practice.”

The new Act has been passed by the Governor-General of India in Council, and has received the Governor-General’s assent ; but the 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67, s. 21, enacts that “ whenever any law or regulation has been assented to by the Governor-General, he shall transmit to the Secretary of State for India an authentic copy thereof ; and it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to signify, through the Secretary of State for India in Council, her disallowance of such law ; and such disallowance shall make void and annul such law from or after the day on which the Governor-General in Council shall make known by

"proclamation or by signification to his Council that he has received the notification of such disallowance by Her Majesty."

Now, Article 1 of the Rules of the East India Association declares that the Association "is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." As a member of that Association, I have, accordingly, ventured to submit, for the consideration of the Council of the Association, and (with their permission and sanction) for the consideration of this meeting, whether or not the establishment of a Government monopoly of Law Reporting is a matter calculated to be prejudicial to "the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally;" whether or not the abolition of such a monopoly is an object deserving of "independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion" by the East India Association; and whether or not the East India Association will be exercising "legitimate means," within the meaning of the Article just cited, in moving the Secretary of State for India, by memorial or otherwise, as to the Council of the Association may seem fit, and for such reasons as the Council may think proper to assign, to procure Her Majesty's disallowance, under the section of the statute above quoted, of the law lately passed by the Governor-General in Council giving legislative sanction to the monopoly in question.

The CHAIRMAN said that, prior to the commencement of the discussion, he should like to ask Mr. Sutherland if he was aware what steps had been taken by the Government to provide for the publication of authorized reports, for he (the Chairman) observed that, by the Act which came into force upon the 1st of January of the present year, no reports had any binding authority except those published under the authority of the Viceroy of India in Council. Did Mr. Sutherland know what steps had been taken, as upon the present information it would appear that the existing reports were deprived of their binding authority.

Mr. SUTHERLAND replied that the first number of the Authorized Reports had appeared. The Government had, he believed, taken over the staff of the *Bengal Law Reports* so far as Bengal was concerned, and also the reporters in the several Presidency High Courts.

The CHAIRMAN next asked if the Government had appointed a central editor at Calcutta, and whether the reports from the High Courts at the several Presidencies were sent to Calcutta for editing and selection.

Mr. SUTHERLAND was unable to speak definitely as to the process by which the new law was carried into effect, nor was he aware whether one editor had the inspection of reports from all the Courts.

Colonel RATHBORNE asked what was the lapse of time between the taking of the reports and their publication; and whether there was not a sort of *hiatus*, in point of fact—an interval—during which no reports would have sanction or weight.

Mr. SUTHERLAND could not say whether this was so. The Act came into force upon the 1st of January last, and the first number of the Reports had appeared, giving some old judgments.

Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS asked whether the reports were sent back to the reporter?

Mr. SUTHERLAND said he was not able to describe the practice pursued in this matter.

Mr. W. F. HALE then rose and said that, taking the object of the East India Association to be the very laudable one of agitating for the removal of anything prejudicial to the interests of the Indian Empire, the subject brought under notice so ably by Mr. Sutherland appeared to be a most important one. To his (the speaker's) mind, it was imperative that in dealing with Indian affairs there should be every appearance of candour and fairness, if the sympathy of the Natives was to be obtained. It was somewhat singular that, the preceding evening, in the House of Lords, Lord Halifax should have called attention to the system adopted by Lord Salisbury in dealing with Indian matters, and the endeavour that appeared to have been made to change the comparative independence of action hitherto allowed to Governors-General and high officials for more immediate control on the part of the Government at home. The matter brought under notice by Mr. Sutherland seemed to partake of the centralizing principle, and the proposed publication of official reports by the Government would, in his opinion, be productive of evil, for grievous errors would be sure to arise, or be supposed to arise. The gentleman who had favoured the meeting with the paper was hardly capable of answering all the questions that were put to him, as it would naturally be difficult to know what would be the general policy of the Government of India in connection with the new measure at so early a stage of its existence. It was, therefore, for the meeting merely to discuss the general effect of the measure, which, it appeared, would make the law reporting of India a monopoly of the Government, so that nothing but what was reported by Government nominees should be of service as matter of legal reference. He (the speaker) felt that, from the present time, England would take more interest than ever in Indian affairs, and it would therefore, in his opinion, be well, in such matters as that under review, if the same freedom were permitted as already existed in England.

A question was then raised by a gentleman in the room as to the validity of past reports.

Mr. SUTHERLAND said that reports prior to January 1, 1876, were not authorized by Government, and in that respect all reports stood upon an equal footing.

The Rev. J. LONG asked if there was any means of ascertaining the reasons that induced the Government of India to pass the measure complained of by the opener of the discussion.

The CHAIRMAN read the preamble of the Bill, but

Mr. LONG said, that before a Bill of the kind was brought in there would, naturally, be something like a correspondence or negotiation, and without having something of the kind before them, the meeting would not be in a position to decide, as the matter would be *ex parte*. Speaking generally, he thought it was right to strengthen the hands of the Executive, who, in dealing with legal questions, must be supposed to have good reason for their actions. At the time of the Mutiny there was a strong feeling among those acquainted with India that one of the causes was the proceedings of the law courts in inflicting English law upon the Natives. Before deciding on the present measure, it appeared to him, therefore, that the grounds and reasons why the Government instituted the new law should be placed before them.

Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS said that the information as to the grounds upon which the Government of India had passed the Act in question could be obtained, as it was the rule to publish the "objects and reasons" of proposed Acts in the *Gazette of India*. He had not himself perused them, but was, nevertheless, satisfied that the Act was unnecessary, extremely bad in principle, as well as faultily constructed. He was surprised that the India Office authorities should, in disallowing Act II. of 1875, have gone out of their way to recommend the passing of the present Act. The matter had now come under the notice of the East India Association, but were the Council to remonstrate with the Secretary of State upon it, they would be met by the difficulty that the Act was virtually sanctioned and in operation. Had the Act been brought under notice prior to its being passed, the East India Association might have taken some useful action. With a view of being kept *au courant* of such matters, he suggested that the Association should obtain copies of all Bills about to be passed in India. Possessed of such information, the Association could tell off a few members to form a committee to watch the progress of measures as they came before the Council at Calcutta, and by this means much good would be effected, as it would demonstrate to the Government that the Association was keenly watching legislation in the interests of India. Regarding the question of



legislation in India, the speaker said it was distressing to any one acquainted with the splendid rules of law and procedure and noble enactments of former times to witness the mischief that has resulted from the system of sending out law members to the Council in India, who, with all the prestige of the India Office at their back, without the Indian experience of an ordinary Civil servant, are yet considered fit to be legislators. These gentlemen, supposed to be sound English lawyers, were intended to advise the Executive, watch the action of Government, and see that Indian legislation should not be in conflict with Parliamentary legislation. They were not intended, and indeed not qualified, to initiate, codify, re-arrange, and assume uncontrolled charge of Indian legislation, as they have of late years taken to doing. A full review of Indian legislation, with its numerous "Repeal Acts," "Amendment Acts," "Alteration Acts," "Correction Acts" (as if the word "amended" had been used so often that they were ashamed of it), would show that the Association ought to take some steps to point out the evils resulting from the voluminous, hasty, and profitless legislation in India that had prevailed of late. He was perfectly astonished to find the Hon. Mr. Hobhouse, in the matter now in question, putting himself before all the great legal authorities of India. Many other instances could be adduced of legislative proceedings which were contrary to the wish and antagonistic to the opinions of the High Court judges, as well as opposed to the public opinion of India. The Council of the East India Association would, therefore, do well if they endeavoured to dissuade the Government from sending out law officers with such powers of interference with the legislation of the country. Some action was urgently required if we would prevent our Indian legislation from becoming a mockery and a sham.

Mr. J. T. WOOD agreed with the idea of having a collection of papers relative to forthcoming legislation in India, and considered such documents would be a valuable addition to the archives of the East India Association. With regard to the question of Law Reporting, he presumed that the Government of India had the nomination, under the new Act, of a staff of official reporters, and the great objection made was that they are under the control of the Government. The second objection, he opined, was that under the new arrangement the Government have the power to reject anything that the reporter may insert in his report. The pleadings and the judgment were recorded, the record was open to the inspection of the Court, and could not be tampered with by Government. One object of law reports is that the public shall have the law as laid down by the judge; in England that object was attained by the judge being in constant communication with

the reporter and giving him his notes. So that the *Law Reports* were held to be the law as laid down by the judge. In this way, any mistake that might have been committed by a reporter through not being in communication with the judge was prevented. In his (the speaker's) experience he had known a case in which the parties made a mistake, and the judgment supposed to have been given in favour of the defendant instead of the plaintiff, and the error was only corrected by means of the accuracy of the reporter who had access to the judge's notes. With regard to the new Act as to reports in India, it seemed to him only necessary to see that every important point of law was reported, and again, on political grounds, to insure that nothing should take place in courts of justice without the knowledge of the public. For instance, supposing a case against the Government was suppressed, the people would have the opportunity of knowing that it had been suppressed, because of the public press, which was the real corrective of any evil of that kind. The public press would, indeed, prevent the suppression of any cases decided against the Government, and therefore it mattered not whether the official reports of the Courts were under the control of the Government or not. It must be borne in mind that another great object of the reports is to preserve a record of law, and therefore a popular case with sensational details, but involving no new point of law, might never appear in a Government report. Law reporting was confined to the simple dry details recorded in the simplest and truest way. Another matter which occurred to him was, that the bar in India was a small body compared with the bar in England, and that the demand in India for a purely legal publication would be very limited. A good law report required great ability, and the remuneration of a properly-qualified person would of course be very high, and consequently the appointment must be subsidized by Government. After remarking upon the importance and responsibilities of reporters of legal questions, and the necessity for having authorized reports, the speaker concluded by saying that he failed to see much harm in the Act under consideration, especially as the Government had retained the services of the reporters practising under the previous system.

Colonel RATHBORNE thought the speaker who had just sat down had rather misunderstood the question raised in the paper, as there was no harm in the Government publishing reports. The objection was that the Government not only undertook the supply of these reports, but that the Act provided that "no Court shall be bound to hear cited, or shall "receive or treat as an authority binding on it, the report of any case "decided by any of the said High Courts on and after the said day, "other than a report published under the authority of the Governor-

“General in Council.” The gentleman who had just spoken would of course know that law is of two sorts,—viz., legislative law and judgment law. As soon as a decision had passed the lips of a judge it became law and was acted upon, unless there was a provision of appeal. At all events, whether reported in one publication or another, or not at all, it was but necessary for the advocate to bring to the recollection of the judge a decision bearing upon the case in hand to insure the necessary consideration. It was, therefore, really a matter of indifference whether the case was reported or not; but in this Act it was provided that from the day of its coming into operation, unless a report is published officially in these Government Reports, it is not to be treated as an authority binding on any Court. So that in the period intervening between a decision and the publication of the Reports—which might be a period of two or three months—no judge could be guided by the decision, because it would not have been “published officially.” Besides this, it seemed to him that, without any desire or intention to do wrong, the Government might be placed in a difficulty; for, supposing a case decided against the Government by the judge in strong terms, and the reporter should choose to leave it out, then it would have no effect. Whatever the reporter might do, the public would have to be bound by it, and he (the speaker) failed to understand how that possible difficulty had not presented itself to the Indian Government. It could not have suggested itself, or they would surely have altered the clause in some way, and not have made the law depend upon the publication instead of the actual decision of the judges. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. T. FORBES pointed out that under the new Act no other report could possibly exist, and proceeded to speak of what he had witnessed in the way of rivalry between the *Bengal Law Reports* and the *Weekly Reporter*, and of what he characterized as an attempt, with official assistance, to suppress the *Weekly Reporter*. Failing in that, after several attempts in other ways to prevent the *Weekly Reporter* publishing the Law Reports, the measure now under discussion was introduced. He was unwilling to occupy the time of the meeting needlessly, and thought he could not give them a better idea of the manner in which that measure was pushed through the Legislative Council than by reading an editorial which he held in his hand, and concerning it, from the *Calcutta Englishman* of January 23, 1875. It was as follows: “After reading Mr. Hobhouse’s speech, in the Council of Tuesday last, on the “Law Reports Bill, it becomes very difficult to understand with what “object the Government of India invites the opinions of the provincial “authorities on its measures. In this instance, at all events, the only “object seems to have been to afford the member in charge of the Bill

" the opportunity of pooh-poohing them. The Governments of Madras  
 " and Bombay had expressed themselves in the strongest terms against the  
 " principle of the Bill ; the late Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, notwithstanding  
 " his notorious bias in favour of the Executive, had described it as revo-  
 " lutionary and unconstitutional ; and the present Lieut.-Governor was un-  
 " derstood to regard it with suspicion. In fact, the only authorities whose  
 " thorough approval of the measure was claimed by Mr. Hobhouse were  
 " the High Court of Calcutta, whose opinion, under existing circumstances,  
 " is, perhaps, entitled to less weight than that of any of the other antho-  
 " rities consulted. Yet the attitude adopted by Mr. Hobhouse was that  
 " of stolid indifference to all this opposition. He had, indeed, as mere  
 " decency required of him, something to say to each of the objections  
 " offered ; but what he said was scarcely of a character to convince  
 " any one not in search of an excuse to side with the Government. If  
 " we entertained the most profound conviction of the harmlessness of the  
 " measure, we should nevertheless consider that nothing but the most  
 " urgent necessity justified the Council in passing it in the face of such a  
 " strong array of adverse opinion. No one will contend that the measure  
 " was of such vital importance as to make delay dangerous or even in-  
 " convenient. Yet it was passed by the Council in what seems little  
 " better than sheer wantonness. The objection of the High Courts of  
 " Bombay and Madras, that the measure, in making the Government the  
 " mouth-piece of judicial law, placed them in a position of vantage,  
 " which was undesirable, is really a most formidable one ; and it is not  
 " necessary to impute any wrong intention to the Government to see that  
 " it is so. The Government should, in its relations to the administration  
 " of justice, be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion ; and, however con-  
 " scientiously it may desire that the function with which the Legislature  
 " had just entrusted it should be exercised, it will certainly incur suspicion.  
 " If the powers conferred by the Act should be conferred on any one, they  
 " manifestly should not, if only for appearance' sake, be conferred on any  
 " one who, like the Government, is a constant party in judicial proceed-  
 " ings. Mr. Hobhouse's reply to this objection is no reply at all. He  
 " says that if the Government and its law reporter conspired to omit a  
 " report, the result would be the complete ruin of the Law Reports,  
 " which no one would take afterwards. If there were any other Law  
 " Reports for people to take in the place of the Government Reports, no  
 " doubt this guarantee would exist for the trustworthiness of the latter.  
 " But there will be no such reports. The third clause of the Act effectually  
 " destroys all possibility of competition when it declares that ' no  
 " ' Court shall be bound to hear cited, or shall receive or treat as an au-  
 " ' thority binding on it, the report of any case decided by any of the said

“ ‘High Courts on and after the said day, other than a report published  
 “ ‘under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.’ It will not  
 “ pay any one to publish reports which the Courts are precluded from  
 “ receiving as authorities. Nor will the fact of a case being omitted  
 “ from the Government Reports make any difference in this respect; for  
 “ it will not operate as a repeal of the section just quoted, which will  
 “ still be as binding on the Courts as before. No one will venture, on  
 “ the strength of such an omission, to commence an independent series  
 “ of Reports as a private speculation; and people will still be obliged to  
 “ take the Government Reports. If the Courts cannot undertake the  
 “ publication of their own Reports, competition, actual or potential, is the  
 “ surest guarantee the public can have for care and honesty. The Act  
 “ just passed secures the Government Law Reports against all fear of  
 “ competition; and the only guarantee the public will have in its stead  
 “ is that the law reporter will be a public servant, responsible to Govern-  
 “ ment for the manner in which he performs his duties. How far this  
 “ responsibility often is from securing even ordinary care and diligence,  
 “ is a matter of notoriety. Further, it may very well be asked whether  
 “ the responsibility of the law reporter will not be more nominal than  
 “ real. The High Courts, Mr. Hobhouse tells us, have not the leisure to  
 “ supervise the publication of their Reports, though, like the Government,  
 “ they would employ the services of a competent reporter to edit them.  
 “ What member of the Government, we should like to know, will have  
 “ the leisure to supervise the work of the law reporter? We have every  
 “ confidence in Mr. Stokes, and it is possible that his reports will be su-  
 “ perior in every respect to any hitherto published; yet we cannot think  
 “ it desirable that so important a work should depend upon any one in-  
 “ dividual, still less that the judgment of that one individual should be  
 “ declared absolute and forced upon the acceptance of the Courts.” As one  
 of about twenty to thirty practitioners in the place, he (the speaker) believed  
 that he was the only one who took both the *Weekly Reporter* and the *Bengal  
 Law Reports*; and he wished to know why the practitioners should not  
 be left to buy one or the other, or both, according to their individual taste.  
 To justify such an arbitrary proceeding as the Act under discussion, it  
 ought to afford a clear remedy for an existing evil. The pretended cause of  
 the enactment was the multitude and expense of the Law Reports, and  
 the pretended object was to diminish their multitude and expense, and  
 to improve their quality. However, as a fact, when the Act was passed,  
 there was no “multitude” of reports, unless two sets of Reports in a  
 Presidency constituted a multitude. It was also pretended that the public  
 would benefit by the diminution of the expense in purchasing Reports,  
 but he held in his hand a copy of the new series of official Reports, and

all that the monthly part of the Calcutta Series contained was seven judgments.

Colonel RATHBORNE: Then, as all the rest are erased from the law, there is an advantage. (Laughter.)

Mr. FORBES observed that that could only be on the assumption that the majority of the judgments of the Indian High Courts are not only unedifying, but positively mischievous in their character; and, in reply to a question, said that a number of the *Weekly Reporter* which he held in his hand contained twenty judgments as the result of a week's proceedings. Then it was urged that the Act would improve the quality of Law Reports; but he failed to see what could be better than the publication of the judges' own words. The Act pretended to suppress citation from other than the authorized Reports, but it really suppressed publication, although Mr. Hobhouse, in his speech upon the measure, disclaimed any desire to suppress the reports; and, as a matter of fact, the High Court of Calcutta had actually prohibited their judgments being given to any other than the authorized Reports.

Colonel RATHBORNE: Why don't the bar simply quote the unofficial Reports and leave the matter to the judge?

Mr. FORBES replied that judgments might be quoted, but the judge dare not cite them. But where, he asked, were the bar to quote from, since the present publications could not exist when the authorized Reports were fairly set going? Could it be said that the change was beneficial or fair? The cost of the Calcutta Series of the official Reports would be 35 rupees per year, but for one month the Reports contained only seven judgments, as compared with from seventy to eighty judgments in the same period that were given in the unauthorized Reports for 36 rupees per year. Why should the latter be suppressed, and why not leave it to the public to decide as to the merits of the publications? He, personally, was debarred from obtaining what he actually wanted; he was prevented from getting a large number of judgments, and would have to be content with what the Government chose to give him. To regulate the public wants, tastes, and demands in the matter of reported judgments of the Indian High Courts, and to compel the public to patronize a publication of an arbitrary selection of a few judgments only, was, in his opinion, as unjustifiable as if the Legislature were to enact that it is expedient to diminish the multitude and expense of cakes, newspapers, and periodicals, legal and medical text-books, and that therefore, for the future, these things should be made, published, and manufactured by such firms as the Government might choose to appoint, and that the one particular article should be obtained only at a fixed monopoly price, independent of the taste, means, or requirements of the

parties concerned. He could not see why such a course should be permitted, particularly as it worked injuriously to people who had given time and trouble to fit themselves for special labour, such as that of legal reporting. Besides, the Act improperly restricted the publication of reports by young members of the bar, who might employ their spare time in publishing cases of a particular kind in which they might have taken an interest, and which might be of special interest and use to particular classes of the community. Further, the Act was defective, because it did not provide compensation for those whose rights had been interfered with. When the Government took over the control of the public ferries, those who were immediately interested were compensated, and a similar course ought to have been followed in regard to the practical abolition of private law reporting by the operation of the New Act. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ELLIOT considered that the question dealt with by the opener of the discussion resolved itself into one of money. If the Government had the money to spare to enable them to furnish the best reports, the law courts would be provided with the best means of carrying on their business. To his mind the question was simply whether the Government were prepared to expend such a sum of money as would enable them to insure the best result; if not, the public had better have the benefit of the Law Reports which are now compiled from unofficial sources.

Mr. J. S. RUSSELL entirely dissented from the opinion of the last speaker, that the question was simply one of money. To his mind it was a question of public liberty. (Hear, hear.) He could conceive of circumstances which would justify a Government in becoming its own reporter; for instance, in cases where a report could not be otherwise obtained at all, or where the reports were so numerous and so incorrect as to make selection difficult or useless. But he could not find that either of these causes could be alleged. The word "multitude" was used in the Bill, but it was diminished by the testimony of facts to a very small number, which could by no means be rightly called "a multitude." Then there was another objection that occurred to him—namely, that it was of great importance that there should be no interference with the liberty of private publication. (Hear, hear.) Publicity is the soul of justice, and although it might fairly be urged that the Indian Government does not really and forcibly suppress any report, yet virtually they do suppress by giving the stamp of authority to *one* set of Reports, thus excluding all others from being of practical use. The Government Reports under the new law would be the only authorized and sanctioned Reports, and the step taken to make them so was, in his opinion, a serious interference

with private liberty and public utility. For these reasons he had arrived at the conclusion that it was an unhappy thing that the Indian Government should have taken the course which he could not but regard as other than decidedly retrograde. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SUTHERLAND then rose and expressed his satisfaction at the discussion which the paper had elicited, and said that, at that late hour, he would not detain the meeting with a lengthened reply. And, indeed, he had been anticipated by previous speakers in replying to many of the objections which had been urged. The question he had raised resolved itself into a very simple issue. It was not a question as to whether the Government might or might not have their own reports, or have reports of any particular kind; but whether they did right in passing a law to enable them to do so. They did not need a law; what, then, was the object? The object really was to put a stop to all other reports, and he asked whether that was a proper and desirable step to take. Would it be an improvement on the former state of things? (No.) One speaker had asked whether the Government had the money to spare for these Reports, but he (Mr. Sutherland) was not aware that it was meant to spend more money. They were employing the same reporters, and he did not know that they were incurring any increased expenditure to carry out the provisions of the new law. But whether they did or not, he wanted to know why the law was necessary for that purpose. The only conceivable answer was that the law was needed to give the Government a monopoly; and was that a thing the Government should lend themselves to; or was it desirable in the interests of the public, in the interests of practitioners, or in the interests of the judges? (No.) Then as to the suggestion which had been made by one of the speakers, that the Government might appoint special reporters to report cases in which they were interested, he could only say that he could not conceive it to be practical. As regards the great objection to "the multitude" of reports, that was shown by one of the judges in India to whom he had referred in his paper, to be a great fallacy. If there was a "great multitude" of reports, who had complained of them? (Hear, hear.) That, however, was the great objection raised by the Hon. Mr. Hobhouse on the information gathered by his predecessor, Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, and this was really the only reason given for the action of the Government. Thanking the meeting for the consideration accorded to his address, Mr. Sutherland concluded by expressing a hope that the subject might be taken up.

The CHAIRMAN said that, having read the Act under discussion and the debates which took place concerning it in the Legislative Council, he was constrained to characterize it as one of the most



singular specimens of legislation that he had ever seen. (Hear, hear.) It furnishes a good illustration of the peculiar faults which, in his humble opinion, legislative action was liable to in India. Those faults were that measures might very easily be passed for which there was no sufficient necessity, and which dealt with evils improper in their nature to form the subject of legislation, and that, too, at the prompting of one mind, and in spite of the opposition of all who were entitled to speak with weight upon the subject. (Hear, hear.) This particular measure was one for which the most careful research would not discover the least necessity. Speaking as a professional man, he might express his conviction that there was no evil which required redress by legislative action. No one felt aggrieved by "the multitude of reports," or the expense of the reports; and, more than that, there was no complaint from the judges or the bar as to the quality of the reports. The quality of some of the Indian Reports might have been poor,—nay, bad; but it might safely have been, and he was sure that it would have more properly been, left to the judges of the High Courts to decide what reports were sufficiently trustworthy to be allowed the privilege of citation. But for some reason or other—perhaps because some "master-mind" at Calcutta, with a passion for the Ideal, thought he would inaugurate a model system of reporting,—the power of the Legislature was invoked, and the measure now complained of introduced. He thought the chief objection to the Act was that it took away from the Indian judges that discretion which they had always enjoyed, and which English judges still enjoyed, and deprived them of the power of saying what should or should not be an authority in their courts,—what reports they would receive or reject. As all gentlemen present knew, it was open to anybody to report the proceedings of a court of justice in England or India, provided the report were true and the proceedings had terminated. That was due to the great principle of publicity imbedded in our judicial system. The judges, of course, did not pay any attention to published reports, unless there was some guarantee of their correctness arising from the known competence of the reporter, or the possession by him of peculiar means of knowledge. The judges had the power to regulate their own proceedings, and, as incidental thereto, the right to say what should be an authoritative report of them and what not. The passing of this Act in India was, in his opinion, equivalent to saying to the judges, "Though we trust you with full power to lay down the law, we will not trust you to decide what is a correct report of the law you lay down." That appeared to him to be an unfortunate conclusion to come to, and one that had a tendency to subvert, what in India required to be jealously guarded, the independence of the judicial body. One

word as to the indirect operation of the Act. Considering that it was only, as far as he was aware, the decisions of the High Court of Calcutta which were reported by more than one reporter or set of reporters, the effect of the Act would be to relieve the *Bengal Law Reports* from the competition of their rival, the *Weekly Reporter*. To bring about that object, the entire body of Indian judges were deprived of the right of determining what Reports they would permit to be used in their courts. Was that an object for the Legislature to expend its force on? He was afraid, however, that the Act was passed under circumstances which afford small hope that any protest would procure its disallowance; but the discussion that had taken place proved that it was a very proper subject for Mr. Sutherland to bring before the East India Association.

Votes of thanks were unanimously passed to Mr. Sutherland and the Chairman, and the proceedings then terminated.

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## *Poverty of India.*

PAPER READ BY MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI BEFORE THE BOMBAY  
BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the Bombay Branch of this Association was held at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute on Monday evening, February 28th, 1876, at which Mr. SORABJEE JAMSETJEE JEEJEEBHoy presided. There was a very large attendance of the public, and most of the members were present, the large lecture hall of the Institute and the gallery being crowded.

The CHAIRMAN, in briefly introducing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, thanked the meeting for doing him the honour of asking him to preside on the occasion, and then called upon the author to read his paper.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI then read the following paper:—

While pointing out in these notes one of the unfavourable results of the present system of British administration, I do not for a moment mean to ignore the very bright side of British rule, and the many blessings of law and order which it has conferred on India. On the latter subject I have already expressed my sentiments on several occasions.

My object at present is to show in greater detail what I have already stated before, that, under the present system of administration, India is suffering seriously in several ways, and is sinking in poverty. In my humble opinion, this is the question, or rather the most serious question, of the day. Whether I am right or wrong will be for you to judge, after hearing what I have to say. If I am right, I shall have discharged a duty as a loyal subject to urge upon our rulers to remedy this most serious evil. If, on the other hand, I am shown to be wrong, none will rejoice more than myself; and I shall have equally done a duty, as a wrong feeling of a serious character will be removed.

These notes were written two or three years ago. I lay them before you as they are. If necessary, I shall consider hereafter any modification that the light of subsequent events may suggest, either in confirmation or refutation of the views expressed in them. There will be a few repetitions from my former papers, but they are necessary in order to make these notes complete. I have endeavoured to avail myself as much as possible of the weight of official or other great authorities, and facts from official records; hence I shall have more quotations than might be thought suitable in an address before an audience; and my notes may

prove dull, but I only hope they may be found of some importance to atone for such dulness. I may propose here that any discussion upon the notes may be deferred till they are all read, and my whole argument placed before you, or otherwise there will be confusion in the discussions.

#### TOTAL PRODUCTION OF INDIA.

In July, 1870, I made a rough estimate, in my paper on "The Wants and Means of India," placed before the East India Association, as follows: "The whole produce of India is from its land. The gross land-tax is put down for 1870-71 a little above 21,000,000*l*. Now I suppose I shall be within the mark if I say that Government takes for this land-tax, on an average, one-eighth of the gross produce, if not more. This gives for the gross production of the country, say, about 168,000,000*l*.; add to this—gross opium revenue, about 7,000,000*l*.; gross salt revenue, 6,000,000*l*.; gross forest, 600,000*l*. The total, thus, of the raw produce of the country amounts to under 182,000,000*l*.—to be on the safe side, let us say 200,000,000*l*., to include the produce of 500,000 tons of coal, of alienation lands, or anything else there may be. Now, the population of the whole of British India is nearly 150,000,000; giving, therefore, less than 27*s*. a-head for the annual support of the whole people."

I then further raised the production from 200,000,000*l*. to 300,000,000*l*., to include the value of manufacturing industries, excise on spirits, and a large margin for any omissions, making 40*s*. a-head for the gross production of India as a high estimate. Since then I have endeavoured to work out the same problem directly, as far as the official data I could get enabled me to do so.

Parliament requires a yearly report of the moral and material progress of India, and a Statistical Committee is formed at Calcutta to supply the necessary information; this Committee has prescribed certain tables to be filled up by the different Governments in their Administration Reports.

The Central Provinces and Burmah Reports are the only two complete in their agricultural tables as far as practicable. Four others (Madras, North-west Provinces, Punjab, and Oudh) give them imperfectly. Bengal and Bombay gave the least, or none, up to 1869-70. For what I could not get from the reports I applied to the India Office, which naturally replied, they could not give what they did not get from India. It will be seen, therefore, that I have been obliged to work out the production under much difficulty. Not only is the quantity of information insufficient, but the quality, even of such as is given, is defective. For instance, in the tables of prices of produce in the different districts of the Central Provinces, in order to get an average, the prices are added up

together, and the total is divided by the number of the districts. This principle is generally adopted in the returns made by all the Governments with respect to average of produce or prices. The principle, however, is altogether fallacious. In taking the average of prices, the quantities of produce sold at the different prices are altogether lost sight of. In the same way, in taking the average produce per acre, the extent of land yielding different quantities is overlooked.

The result, therefore, is wrong, and all arguments and conclusions based upon such averages are worthless. Taking the instance of the Central Provinces in the Administration Report of 1867-8, the average price of rice is made out to be Rs. 2-12-7 per maund, when in reality the correct average will be only Rs. 1-8 per maund. Again, the table for the produce of rice per acre gives the average as 579 lbs., when in reality it is 759 lbs. Now, what can be the worth of conclusions drawn from these wrong averages? These averages are not only worthless, but mischievous. It is a pity that, with large Government establishments, more accurate and complete information should not be given. I sincerely trust that future reports will not only work averages upon correct principles, but also work out the total production of their respective provinces. Then only shall we know the actual condition of the mass of the people. All "I thinks" and "my opinions" are of no use on important subjects. The whole foundation of all administration, financial and general, and of the actual condition of people, rests upon this one fact—the produce of the country, the ultimate result of all capital, labour, and land. With imperfect materials at command, and not possessed of the means to employ a staff to work out all the details as they ought to be, I can only give approximate results.

On the question of taking proper averages and supplying complete information, I addressed a letter, in February 1871, to the India Office, which I have reason to believe has been forwarded to the Governments in India. I hope that some attention will be paid to the matter. As a specimen of the correct principle of averages, I have got worked out Table A. of the averages of price and produce of some of the principal productions of the Central Provinces. From this will be seen that the correct average for rice is Rs. 1-8, instead of Rs. 2-12-7, as stated above; also that the correct average of produce is 759, and not 579 lbs. of rice per acre. I have explained, in the following calculations for the different provinces, the mode I have adopted for each. Though working with insufficient and defective materials, and without the means and time to work out details, I have endeavoured to calculate *above* the mark, so that, whatever my error, it will be found on the safe side, of estimating a higher produce than the reality.

The principle of my calculations is briefly this. I have taken the largest one or two kinds of produce of a province to represent all its produce, as it would be too much labour for me to work out every produce, great and small. I have taken the whole cultivated area of each district, the produce per acre, and the price of the produce; and simple multiplication and addition will give you both the quantity and value of the total produce. From it, also, you can get the correct average of produce per acre and of prices for the whole province, as in this way you have all the necessary elements taken into account.

## CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The total area of cultivated land (Table 2, Fiscal, of Report, 1867-8—an average *good season* year) is 12,378,215 acres. The price of produce per acre, as worked out in Table A for the important articles, rice, wheat, other food-grains, oil-seeds, and cotton, is Rs. 11-13-5—say Rs. 12.\* The total value of agricultural produce will be—acres 12,378,215  $\times$  Rs. 12 = Rs. 14,85,38,580. To this is to be added the produce of Sumbulpore; but the acreage of that district is not given. Making some allowance for it, I increased the produce to, say, Rs. 16,00,00,000, or 16,000,000*l.*, for a population of 9,000,000.

I have lately met with an unexpected confirmation of my views. The *Times of India* Summary of 6th June, 1873, takes from the *Englishman* some particulars from Mr. Pedder's reply to the Viceroy's Circular on local funds. Mr. Pedder makes out, as the value of produce in the Nagpore district, about Rs. 8 per acre, and my estimate of the whole of the Central Provinces is Rs. 12 per acre. I do not know whether Mr. Pedder has avoided the wrong principle of averages—whether he calculates for an average good season, and whether any allowance is made for bad seasons.

## PUNJAB.

The Administration Report of 1867-8 gives all the necessary agricultural tables, except one—viz., the produce per acre of the different kinds of crops. I take this year (1867-8) as a better season, and with a larger extent of cultivation, than that of 1868-9.

\* The Table A is too large for insertion.

<i>Summary.</i>			
	Acre.		Rs.
Rice .....	2,938,328	.....	4,18,43,575
Wheat .....	3,813,677	.....	3,51,77,956
Other Food-grains .....	4,197,516	.....	4,70,63,760
Oil-seeds .....	697,100	.....	1,04,42,854
Cotton .....	643,390	.....	50,28,838
Total.....	11,790,011	.....	13,95,56,983

Average, Rs. 11-13-5 per acre.

The chief crops are wheat and other inferior grains—the former nearly 20, and the latter 50 per cent. of the whole cultivation. The price of wheat is higher than that of other inferior grains; and as I take the prices of first-class wheat, I think the average price of the produce of one acre of wheat, applied to the whole cultivated acreage, will be very much above the actual value of the production, and my estimate will be much higher than it ought to be.

As the Administration Reports of both 1867-8 and 1868-9 do not give the produce of crops per acre, I ascertain it from other sources.

In the Administration Report of the Punjab for the year 1850-1 (published in 1854 by the Court of Directors), drawn up by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple, a detailed table, dated Jullundhur, 25th October, 1851, gives the produce per acre. The table gives 14 instances of first-class lands, which, by the rough process of adding up and dividing by the number of instances, gives  $14\frac{1}{2}$  maunds = 1,160 lbs. (a maund equals 82 lbs.—*Report*, 1855-6); for the *second* class, from 8 instances, I find the average  $13\frac{1}{2}$  maunds, or 1,107 lbs.; and for the third class, from 6 instances, I find 11 maunds, or 902 lbs. From this table I have taken all at 10 maunds or upwards as representing irrigated land, and the second class representing the bulk of it, as producing 1,100 lbs. per acre. For unirrigated land I have not sufficient data. I adopt 600 lbs. per acre, for reasons I have stated under heading “North-west Provinces.”

After I had made my following calculations on the above basis, I was favoured with a loan from the Record Department of the India Office of the Administration Report for 1869-70. The produce per acre is given in this report, but the average is taken on the objectionable principle of adding up the produce of all districts and dividing by the number of districts, without reference to the extent of cultivation in each district. According to this, the average of the produce of wheat per acre of all the districts is given in the report as only 624 lbs. The highest produce in three districts included in this average is 1,044, 1,066, and 1,000 lbs.; so that my assumption of 1,100 lbs. per acre for *all* irrigated land is much above the mark. Again, even making the allowance for the drought of the years 1868-9 and 1869-70, my assumption, of 600 lbs. of wheat per acre of all unirrigated land only, is also above the mark.

I take the calculated area of 1867-8, which is also the largest of the three years 1867-8, 1868-9, and 1869-70; and I take prices for 1867-8, that having been an average good season. The prices of 1868-9 and 1869-70 are scarcity prices. The year 1867-8 is a fair test for the produce of the Punjab in an average favourable season.

The report for 1867-8 does not give prices of produce for all districts separately, but only of a few important towns—viz., Delhi, Umballa, La-

here, Sealkote, Mooltan, and Peshawur (page ciii.); and as I take these prices to represent not only those of the whole of the districts of these towns, but of all the districts of the Punjab, I evidently assume a much higher price than actually must have been the case. My results, therefore, will be affected in a double way (*viz.*, firstly, in taking first-class wheat to represent all produce; and secondly, in taking the prices in the principal towns to represent all Punjab); and will show then the total value of the production of all Punjab much higher than the reality. I therefore think I shall not be unfair in deducting 10 per cent. as some correction of this double error; and even then I shall be above the mark. The prices given in the report for 1867-8 are as follows (III. E. J. Statement, showing the prices of produce in the Punjab for the year 1867-8):—

Districts.	Price in Seers* for 1 Rupee.				
	1st June, 1866.	1st Jan., 1867.	1st June, 1867.	1st Jan., 1868.	Average.
Delhi . . . . .	21½	20	19½	25	21½
Umballa . . . . .	25	20	20¼	20½	21½
Lahore . . . . .	23	20	22	17	20½
Sealkote . . . . .	24	20	22	16	20½
Mooltan . . . . .	16	17½	16	13½	15¾
Peshawur . . . . .	24¾	22	20¾	15	20½

I take the above averages of the towns to represent their whole districts, and then the average of the six districts to represent the whole of the Punjab in the following calculation (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce):—

Districts.	Irrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.
Delhi . . . . .	200,955	1,100	221,050,500	43	51,40,709
Umballa . . . . .	96,328	"	105,960,800	43	24,64,204
Lahore . . . . .	447,295	"	492,024,500	41	1,20,00,597
Sealkote . . . . .	394,227	"	433,649,700	41	1,05,76,821
Mooltan . . . . .	505,750	"	556,325,000	31½	1,76,61,111
Peshawur . . . . .	249,144	"	274,058,400	41	66,84,351
Total . . . . .	1,893,699	...	.....	...	5,45,27,793

The average value of produce per acre of the irrigated land of the six districts will, therefore, be Rs. 28-7-9.

\* The seer is 2 lbs.



I now apply this to all irrigated land of the Punjab.

Total irrigated acres are 6,147,038, which, at Rs. 28-7-9 per acre, will give Rs. 17,69,73,224 as the total value of the produce of irrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

I now calculate the value of the produce of unirrigated land (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce) :—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.
Delhi .....	307,690	600	184,614,000	43	42,93,348
Umballa .....	856,701	„	514,020,600	43	1,19,53,967
Lahore .....	557,882	„	334,729,200	41	81,64,126
Sealkote .....	425,440	„	255,264,000	41	62,25,951
Mooltan .....	118,684	„	71,210,400	31½	22,60,647
Peshawur .....	456,661	„	273,996,600	41	66,82,843
Total ... ..	2,723,058	...	.....	...	3,95,80,882

The average value of produce of one acre of unirrigated land of the six districts is Rs. 14-5-3. Applying this to the unirrigated land of the whole of the Punjab, the result will be as follows: Total unirrigated acres, 14,810,697, at Rs. 14-5-3 per acre, will give Rs. 21,51,99,427 as the value of the produce of all unirrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

Adding up the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land, the total will be Rs. 39,21,72,651. From this I deduct 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, which will leave Rs. 35,29,54,800 for a population of 17,593,946, or say 36,000,000*l.* for a population of 17,500,000.

#### NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

I take the figures of 1867-8, being an average good season. The subsequent ones, 1868-9 and 1869-70, have been bad.

The Administration Report does not give the distribution of chief crops, but I find in the Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* (page 136) of 15th March, 1871, a table of the crops for 1868-9. From this it will be seen that, out of a total of about 22,000,000 acres, rice, jowari, bajri, wheat, and barley make up—

	Acres.
Rice .....	2,479,874
Jowari and Bajri.....	4,302,890
Wheat and Barley .....	7,257,873

14,040,637, or nearly ¾.

-As I cannot get the prices of all the above kinds of produce, except

wheat and barley, if I take wheat to represent all, I shall be above the mark.

In the Administration Report of 1868-9 there is a table given of prices of wheat and barley. I take the prices for the months of April, May, and June, as those of the good season of 1867-8. The subsequent prices are affected by drought. I should have preferred to take the prices for January to June, 1868; but the table does not give the earlier months. These prices are of some of the chief markets only, so that, taking the prices to represent the whole of the respective districts, and then taking the average of these few districts to represent the whole of the North-west Provinces, the result will be much higher; so, as in the case of the Punjab, I deduct 10 per cent. as some correction for these errors of excess.

The prices given in the Report of 1868-9, pages 29, 30, are as follow :  
 "The following table gives the prices at the close of each month for the  
 "year in the chief markets of the provinces. The figures denote seers and  
 "chittacks. . . . .

Districts.	WHEAT.						My Remarks.				
	April.		May.		June.			Average.			
	s.	c.	s.	c.	s.	c.		s.	c.	Lb.	oz
Saharunpore .....	22	6	25	14	25	14	24	11	49	6	The report does not say which seer this is.
Meerut ... ..	26	0	27	0	27	8	26	13	53	10	
Moradabad .....	26	10	25	10	24	0	25	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	51	1	Formerly 1 seer is given equal to 2·057 lbs.
Bareilly .....	25	10	27	8	25	0	26	0	52	0	
Muttra .....	24	0	...		24	0	24	0	48	0	I take this seer = 2lbs.
Agra .....	23	0	23	0	24	0	23	5	46	10	
Cawnpore .....	23	0	23	0	22	0	22	11	45	6	16 chittacks = 1 seer.
Allahabad .....	18	4	18	0	17	0	17	12	35	8	The report also does not say whether these quantities were got for one rupee, but it evidently appears to be meant so.
Mirzapore ..	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	35	6	
Benares .....	17	5	18	5	18	0	17	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	35	14"	

The Administration Reports give no table of produce per acre of different crops. I adopt the same scale as given in the case of the Punjab, for the following additional reasons: \*Captain Harvey Tuket's esti-

\* The "Agricultural Gazette of India" of the *Indian Economist*, 15th August, 1870, No. 1,

mate in the year 1840, from 2,000 experiments, of which 512 were for wheat, made by the Government of the North-west Provinces, gives the average produce of wheat per acre at 1,046 lbs. The late Mr. Thornton, formerly Secretary to that Government, has recorded that, judging from his own experience, he should say that 1,200 lbs. per acre was a high average for irrigated land, and 700 lbs. for that of which a considerable portion is dry.\* Mr. Maconochi, in his recent settlements of Oonah (Oudh), gives for irrigated land—

1st class,	21 bushels	=	1,218 lbs.	(at 58 lbs. per bushel)
2nd „	16 „	=	928 „	
3rd „	9 „	=	522 „	

and for unirrigated land—

1st class,	11 bushels	=	638 lbs.
2nd „	9 „	=	522 „
3rd „	7 „	=	406 „

Taking second class as representing the bulk, the average for irrigated land may be considered as 928 lbs., and for unirrigated 522 lbs. From all the above particulars it will be seen that the estimate I have adopted, of 1,100 lbs. per acre for irrigated and 600 lbs. for unirrigated land, is something above a fair average. A Settlement officer of the North-west Provinces, in a letter to the *Indian Economist* of 15th February, 1871 (“Agricultural Gazette,” page 171), sums up all that is known to him on the subject of the produce of wheat per acre in those Provinces. It will be too long an extract to insert here; but, making allowance for the “mischievous fallacy” of all official documents alluded to by this writer, about which I have already complained to the India Office, and which vitiates averages for a number of years or places, I think the average I have adopted above is something more than a reasonable one. When Administration Reports will give, as they ought, correct particulars for each district every year, accurate estimates of the actual produce of the Provinces could be easily made. I give the calculations below. The table of cultivated land, given at page 45 of the Appendix to the Administration Report of 1867-8, does not give the irrigated and unirrigated extent of land separately for the Moradabad, Tarrae, Mynpoorie, Banda, and Ghazipore districts.

I find that the totals of irrigated and unirrigated land bear nearly the proportion of two-fifths and three-fifths respectively of the whole total cultivated land. I assign the same proportion to the above districts in the absence of actual particulars.

\* See also Parliamentary Return No. 999 of 1853, page 471.

## Wheat.

Districts.	Irrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs. oz.	Rs.
Sararunpore .....	160,058	1,100	176,063,800	49 6	35,65,849
Meerut .....	577,346	"	635,080,600	53 10	1,17,26,444
Moradabad.....	806,930	"	787,623,000	51 1	1,73,83,069
Bareilly .....	344,662	"	379,128,200	52 1	72,82,174
Muttra .....	332,542	"	365,796,200	48 0	89,22,837
Agra .....	434,166	"	477,582,600	46 10	1,02,43,058
Cawnpore .....	397,396	"	437,135,600	45 6	96,33,842
Allahabad .....	345,624	"	380,186,400	35 8	1,07,09,476
Mirzapore .....	198,823	"	218,705,300	35 6	61,82,481
Benares .....	238,971	"	262,868,100	35 14	75,01,549
Total .. .....	3,836,518	...	.....	...	9,31,50,779

The average value of the produce of one acre will be Rs. 24-2-8.

Applying the average of the above districts to the whole of the irrigated area of the North-west Provinces, the result will be—acres  $1,045,050 \times \text{Rs. } 24-2-8 = \text{Rs. } 24,38,93,814$ .

In a similar manner, the total value of the produce of unirrigated land, as represented by wheat, will be as follows:—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs. oz.	Rs.
Saharunpore .....	621,382	600	372,829,200	47 6	75,50,960
Meerut .....	453,694	"	272,216,400	53 10	50,76,288
Moradabad .....	484,158	"	290,494,800	51 1	56,88,992
Bareilly .....	768,283	"	460,957,800	52 1	88,53,920
Muttra .....	406,153	"	243,691,800	48 0	50,76,912
Agra .....	374,976	"	224,985,600	46 10	48,25,424
Cawnpore .....	436,636	"	261,981,600	45 6	57,73,696
Allahabad .....	644,594	"	386,756,400	35 8	1,08,94,544
Mirzapore .....	614,658	"	368,794,800	35 6	1,04,25,280
Benares .....	202,818	"	121,690,800	35 14	33,92,064
Total .....	5,007,352	...	.....	...	6,75,58,080

The average value of wheat per acre of unirrigated land is, therefore, Rs. 13-4-9.

Applying this average to the whole unirrigated land of the North-west Provinces, we get—acres  $14,132,111 \times \text{Rs. } 13-4-9 = \text{Rs. } 19,06,42,177$ .

The grand total of the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land will be—

Irrigated .....	10,045,050 acres = Rs. 24,38,93,814
Unirrigated .....	14,132,111 „ = „ 19,06,42,177
Total.....	<u>24,177,161 acres = Rs. 43,45,35,991</u>

Deducting 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, the remainder will be Rs. 39,10,82,392 for a population of 30,086,898, or say 40,000,000. for a population of 30,000,000.

#### BENGAL.

The Administration Reports till 1869-70 give no information required by the Statistical Committee, except the area of districts in square miles and acres (Report 1869-70). For information for cultivated area, distribution, produce of crops, and prices, I have to look out elsewhere, or make a rough estimate.

First, with regard to the extent of cultivated land, I adopt the following plan as the best I can. The total area of the North-west Provinces is about 50,000,000 acres, of which about 25,000,00 are cultivated. The population of those Provinces is, by the late census of 1865, about 30,000,000 ; so we have the total area, 5 acres to 3 persons, and of cultivated area five-sixths of an acre per head. Now, assuming Bengal to be atleast as thickly populated as the North-west Provinces, and the total area, as given in the Administration Report of 1869-70 (Appendix, page xxi.), being about 105,000,000 acres, the population of Bengal will be about 63,000,000 ; and I am encouraged to adopt this figure instead of 36,000,000 of the Report of 1869-70, as the *Englishman* of 25th June, 1872, states that the census of Bengal, as far as the figures are made up, lead to an estimate of about 65,000,000. Again, as in the North-west Provinces, I allow five-sixths of an acre of cultivated land per head, and take, therefore, 54,000,000 acres of cultivated land for a population of 65,000,000.

With regard to produce, coarse rice is the chief produce of Bengal, and, in taking it to represent the whole produce, I shall be near enough the mark. For the produce of rice per acre, I take a table given in the report of the Indigo Commission (Parliamentary Return No. 721, of 1861, page 292), in which produce of paddy per beegah is given for a number of districts. The rough average, without reference to the quantity of land in each district, comes to about 9 maunds per beegah.

The maund I take is the Indian maund of 82 lbs. The quantity of produce per beegah given in the table is evidently for rice in husk ; for, though not so stated, this would be apparent by comparing the money

values of these quantities given in the same table with the prices for 1860 given in the table at page 291.

The beegah I find explained, at page lxi. of the same return, as about one-third of an acre. Thacker's Bengal Directory for 1872, page 2, gives the following table for "Bengal square or land measure":—

1 chittack	=	45 square feet or 5 square yards.
16 „	=	1 cottah = 720 square ft. or 80 square yards.
20 cottahs	=	1 beegah = 14,400 „ or 1,600 „

This gives a little more than 3 beegahs to an acre.

Mr. Cowasjee Eduljee, the Manager of the Port Canning Rice Mills and Lands, thinks that for an average of all lands, or say for standard land, 7 maunds of paddy per beegah will be a very fair calculation. I take 8 maunds. Mr. Cowasjee further says, as the out-turn of his mills, that paddy yields 55 per cent. of rice at the outside.

For the price of rice I take the season 1867-8. I take the rough average of the weekly prices given in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the months of January to March, 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the season of 1867-8. This average is taken by simply adding up the prices and dividing by the number of districts, and not on the correct principle of taking the quantities of the produce of each district into account (as in specimen Table A I have given for the Central Provinces). The average, therefore, which I have adopted must be much higher than the actual one, and will require some reasonable deduction. I shall deduct only 10 per cent. as some correction for this, and to make up for any error in the produce per acre. Besides, the prices given in the *Gazette* are retail prices, and are therefore higher than the prices all over the country; so my deduction of 10 per cent. will be but a very small correction for all the errors of my rough calculation. I cannot get the extent of cultivated land for each district. I give below the calculations. Since writing these notes, I have seen the late census report, which gives the population as 66,856,859, or say 67,000,000. The approximate area of cultivated land will be, say, five-sixths of 67,000,000, or 56,000,000 acres. The produce per acre, taken as 24 maunds paddy per acre, will give about 13 maunds of clean rice, or 1,066 lbs.—say 1,100 lbs. The total produce of 56,000,000 acres will be 616,000,000 lbs., which, at 58 lbs. per rupee (as obtained by the rough average of the weekly prices of the three months of January, February, and March, 1868), will give Rs. 1,06,00,00,000, or 106,000,000*l.* Deducting 10 per cent., will give 95,400,000*l.*, or say 96,000,000*l.*, for a population of 67,000,000. This will amply cover the higher price of some of the articles, such as silk, indigo, cost price of opium, tea, &c., or any double crops, &c. The per-centage of these products is a small one; the total

value for all these will be under 10 per cent. of the whole produce, while the average of price I have taken for rice as representing the whole produce of the Presidency will be found much above the actual. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that the total value of all productions of the Bengal Presidency will be found much under, than above, my estimate. It is very desirable, however, to get a correct result, and the Statistical Committee or Agricultural Department should give it.

## MADRAS.

I take the Administration Report of 1868-9, as I have not been able to get an opportunity of studying that of 1867-8. Besides, as prices have not much altered, the later report is the better. I am obliged to ascertain the produce per acre from other sources: the report does not give this information. I take paddy to represent the produce of wet and cumboo for dry land, as they form the bulk of the produce of the country.

Mr. H. Newill, the Director of Settlements for South Arcot, in his letter of 27th August, 1859 (Selections of the Madras Government, No. 14 of 1869, Appendix Y, from page 142), gives an elaborate table of produce per acre, of the principal grains, as ascertained by a large number of experiments and general inquiry; and the result of his investigations gives, for the different classes of soils, the following produce, from which 5 per cent. is to be deducted for numerous ridges for regulating irrigation channels, exterior boundaries, &c. :—

*Produce of Wet Land per Acre for "Good Crop" First Grade Land.*

Descrip- tion of Soils.	Value as- signed for Good Crops, per Acre.	Descrip- tion of Soils.	Value as- signed for Good Crops, per Acre.
	H.C. (Bazar Huris Cullum.)		H.C. (Bazar Huris Cullum.)
1.	45	10.	30
2.	40	11.	25
3.	35	12.	20
4.	30	13.	18
5.	28	14. }	15
6.	40	15. }	
7.	35		—
8.	30	Average ...	30
9.	28		—

Deducting 5 per cent. for ridges, &c.,  $30 - 1\frac{1}{2} = 28\frac{1}{2}$  H.C.

For second grade land deduct 15 per cent., which will give  $24\frac{1}{4}$  H.C. For third grade deduct 20 per cent., which will give 22·8 H.C. For bad seasons Mr. Newill deducts 10 per cent. more, which I do not; so that the produce calculated by me is for "good crop," or in "good season," as in all other cases. Taking second grade as the bulk of the land, I take  $24\frac{1}{4}$  H.C. as the average of all wet land.

For dry land for cumboo (page 150), Mr. Newill gives the produce per acre as follows:—

Description of Soils.	H.C.		Description of Soils.	H.C.
1.	21		10.	14
2.	18		11.	12
3.	17		12.	10
4.	16		13.	10
5.	14		14.	9
6.	17		15.	8
7.	15			
8.	13			
9.	12			
			Average...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
				say 14 H.C.

The next thing necessary is to ascertain the correct average price. I take the average price as given in the Administration Report (calculated on the wrong principle referred to by me before), bearing in mind that the correct average, as worked out according to specimen Table A, would be very likely found lower. Again, taking the rough average of first and second class paddy, the price comes to Rs. 180 per garce; and as second-class paddy must be the bulk of the produce, the correct average price in this respect also must be lower. In taking, therefore, Rs. 180 per garce, some reasonable allowance will have to be made. I shall make it only 10 per cent. for all kinds of excess. It is too much work for me to calculate as in Table A.

Wet land under calculation (except South Canara and Malabar, where areas under cultivation are not given) is, for 1868-9, 2,957,748 acres at 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  H.C. produce per acre (and 133 $\frac{1}{2}$  H.C. = 1 garce\*) will give 511,490 garces, which, at Rs. 180 per garce, will give Rs. 9,68,53,500—the total value of the produce of wet land.

Dry cultivated land (except South Canara and Malabar) is 13,560,329 acres, and, with produce at 14 H.C. per acre (and 133 H.C. = 1 garce); will give 1,427,403 garces. I take the rough average price as given in the table—Rs. 188 per garce—in the Administration Report of 1868-69. This will be an over-estimate, as quantities in each district are not taken into account. The total value will be—1,427,403 garces at Rs. 188 = Rs. 26,83,51,764. Total produce of wet and dry lands will be Rs. 36,52,05,264; adding 10 per cent. for South Canara and Malabar, the total for all the Madras Presidency will be a little above Rs. 40,00,00,000. From this is to be allowed 10 per cent. as a correction for errors of high averages, which will leave, say, 36,000,000%.

\* 24 Madras measures = 1 Huris Cullum.

133 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huris Cullum = 1 Madras Garce.

(Selection of the Madras Government, No. XIV. of 1869, page 16.)



for a population of 26,539,052 (Parliamentary Return No. <sup>(C. 184)</sup><sub>1870</sub>), or say 26,500,000.

## BOMBAY.

The season 1867-8 was a favourable one (Bombay Administration Report, 1867-8, page 59); that for 1868-9 unfavourable (Report for 1868-9, page 65). I take the former to ascertain the produce of a fair good season. I am sorry that the Administration Reports give no agricultural information. I therefore take the necessary particulars from other sources. The Revenue Commissioner's Reports for 1867-8 give the total area under cultivation for the Northern Division at 5,129,754 acres and 1,263,139 beegahs, in which are included for grass and fallow land 611,198 acres and 226,708 beegahs. The actual cultivated land will, after deducting this, be 4,518,556 acres and 1,036,431 beegahs = 609,842 acres, or total acres 5,128,398. Out of this, bajri, jowari, rice, and cotton make up nearly two-thirds, or above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.		Beegahs.
Bajri .....	985,427	.....	56,857
Jowari .....	676,377	.....	224,210
Rice .....	616,802	.....	94,306
Cotton .....	519,058	.....	319,572
<hr/>			
	2,797,664	.....	694,945 = 408,791 acres.
Or total acres ... .. 3,206,455			

Similarly for the Southern Division, out of the total acres, 13,985,892, jowari, bajri, rice, and cotton make up above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.
Jowari .....	4,906,073
Bajri .....	2,715,719
Rice .....	504,015
Cotton .....	704,629
<hr/>	
8,830,436	

I take, therefore, these four articles to represent the produce of the whole Presidency, though this will give a higher estimate. Neither the Administration nor the Revenue Commissioner's Report gives produce per acre or prices. I take these two items as follows. From Selections of the Bombay Government, Nos. 10 and 11 of 1853, I get the following estimate of produce :—

*Produce per Acre in Pounds.*

Selection.		Districts re- ported upon.	Bajri with Kuthole.	Jowari with Kuthole.	Sathi, or Coarse Rice.	Kupas, or un- cleaned Cotton.	Remarks.
No.	Page.		Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	
X.	15	Prant of Husore— Morassa and Baya Pergunnah in Ah- medabad Collec- torate .....	680	700	1,020	...	Cleaned Cotton as per experiments made under order of Mr. Saunders, Resident of Hydrabad, in Bassein district of Berar — average of 8 acres giving 31½ lbs. of clean Cotton, and 83½ lbs. of Seed. ( <i>Agri- cultural Gazette of India</i> of 21st August, 1871, page 3.) This would give 82 lbs. for 305 lbs. of kupas.
	106	Duskrooe Pergun- nah— Greatest ..... Least .....		1,020			
			1,700	1,500	1,360	410	
			270	210	410	200	
XI.	15	Dholka— Greatest ..... Least .....	1,700	1,500	1,360	410	
			270	210	410	200	
		Rough average .....	924	856	912	305	

The above averages belong to a fertile part of the Northern Division; so that if I put down 900 lbs. for bajri, jowari, and rice per acre, and 80 lbs. of cotton for the whole of that Division, I shall be making a high estimate.

The next thing to settle is the prices. I take them from the *Government Gazette* weekly prices for the months of January to May, 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the average favourable season of 1867-8. These are retail prices of the chief markets of the respective districts, and it will be necessary to deduct 10 per cent. to make a fair average for the whole of the Division. For cotton I take the export prices from the Prices Current of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for January to May, 1868. This gives an average of Rs. 181 per candy. The export prices I have taken represent more than the average value of the whole crop of the Presidency, as the above average is for Fair Dhollera and Bhownuggur, which necessarily give a higher figure than the average of all the different varieties. Again, the bulk of the cotton is not "fair," but "mid-fair," so, to make a fair allowance for all these circumstances, I take the price for 1867-8 as Rs. 170 per candy of 784 lbs.

*The Southern Division.*—As a whole, this Division is not as fertile as the Northern. I shall take, however, only 50 lbs. less for bajri, jowari, and rice; and for cotton I take 60 lbs. per acre—a high average for the whole of the Division; for Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., in his paper of 1857, read before the Society of Arts, quotes Mr. Vary, the then late Superintendent of Government Cotton Experiments in Sattara and Sholapore, to the effect that “40 lbs. of clean cotton per acre is considered a fair crop.” For rice, I take Rutnagherry as exceptional in its produce. If I give 1,700 lbs. per acre for the whole district, it will be a high average.\* I take the prices from the *Government Gazette* in the same way as for the Northern Division, and a similar reduction of 10 per cent. will have to be made. I give below a table worked out in the manner described above:—

\* The Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* of 22nd January, 1872, gives a table, on official authority, of the total produce of the Bombay Presidency. The figures given for Rutnagherry are evidently wrong. For 113,296 acres the produce of rice is given as 10,110,964 maunds of 82 lbs., which will be above 7,200 lbs. per acre. The best land may produce as much as 3,000, but 7,200 lbs. is simply out of the question. In the Pardy Settlement (*Indian Economist* of 15th July, 1871, page 330) an acre of rice, “in embanked land receiving full supply of water for a “crop of rice,” is put down as producing 3,400 lbs. Even in Bengal and Burmah—rice-producing countries—there is no such production as 7,000 lbs. per acre. For the rest of the Presidency (excepting Canara), the total produce is given as follows:—

<i>Rice.</i>		<i>Jowari and Bajri.</i>	
Acres.	Produce, Maunds of 82 lbs.	Acres.	Produce, Maunds of 82 lbs.
822,218 .....	9,197,713	9,476,687 .....	44,557,600
Giving an average of 917 lbs.		Giving an average of 385 lbs.	

Now, the year 1869-70 is reported to have been an average favourable season, in which case my adopting 900 lbs. for the Northern and 850 for the Southern Division for all grains, is very much higher than the real average. For cotton the figures are—acres 1,937,375, maunds 3,264,464, giving an average of 1.68 maunds, or 136 lbs. It is not stated whether this is cleaned or seed cotton. Any way, this cannot be correct. It is, however, remarked by the official who supplies these statistics: “The figures in Table iii., giving the weight of produce, are not, it is “feared, very reliable, but now that attention is being given to the subject, they “will become more so every year.” I earnestly hope that it will be so; correct statistics of this kind are extremely important.

*Bajri.*

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre).	Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad .....	129,365*	116,428,500	33 6	34,65,134
Kaira.....	150,841	135,756,900	30·0	45 25,230
Surat .....	27,217	24,495,300	25·5	9,60,600
Khandeish .....	711,447	640,302,300	27·6	2,31,99,359
Tanna .....	...	.....	...	.....
Total...	1,018,870	.....	...	3,21,50,323
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona .....	834,325	709,176,250	34·7	2,04,37,356
Ahmednuggur .....	1,152,316	979,468,600	34·3	2,85,55,936
Kulladghee .....	240,165	204,140,250	64·4†	31,69,880
Rutnagherry .....	...	.....	...	.....
Belgaum .....	76,228	64,793,800	59·2	10,94,489
Dharwar .....	14,108	11,991,800	69·0	1,73,795
Sattara .....	398,573	338,787,050	52·9	64,04,292
Total...	2,715,715	.....	...	5,98,35,748

*Jowari.*

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre).	Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad... ..	119,679	107,711,100	42·4	25,40,356
Kaira .....	44,536	40,082,400	42·4	9,45,339
Surat .....	178,839	160,955,100	27·1	59,39,302
Khandeish ..	465,198	418,678,200	40·4	1,03,63,322
Tanna .....	10	9,000	26·8	336
Total..	808,262	.....	...	1,97,88,655
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona .....	1,487,816	1,264,643,600	49·5	2,55,48,355
Ahmednuggur .....	852,232	724,397,200	45·6	1,58,85,903
Kulladghee.....	1,162,582	988,194,700	70·0	1,41,17,060
Rutnagherry .....	.....	.....	...	.....
Belgaum .....	426,542	362,560,700	66·0	54,93,344
Dharwar .....	511,389	434,680,650	83·8	51,87,120
Sattara.....	465,509	395,682,650	52·6	75,22,487
Total...	4,906,070	.....	...	7,37,54,269

\* Gujarat in Northern Division; the cultivated area is given partly in acres and partly in beegahs. The beegahs are converted into acres, as 1·7 beegahs=1 acre.

† Bhagalkote price is taken.

*Rice.*

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre).	2nd Sort, Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad .....	31,902	28,711,800	14 0	20,50,843
Kaira .....	51,443	46,298,700	12·2	37,94,975
Surat .....	108,348	97,513,200	11 27	86,52,458
Khandeish .....	12,081	10,872,900	20·1	5,40,940*
Tanna .....	468,499	421,646,100	20·1†	2,09,77,567
Total...	672,273	605,045,700	...	3,60,16,783
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona .....	108,643	92,346,550	22·2	41,59,754
Ahmednuggur .....	28,922	24,583,700	12·3	19,98,674
Kulladghee .....	5,496	4,671,600	20 9	2,23,521
Rutnagherry .....	130,403	221,685,100	27·0	82,10,559
		(1,700 lbs. per Acre.)		
Belgaum .....	70,889	60,255,650	29·0	20,77,781
Dharwar .....	91,840	78,064,000	27·1	28,80,590
Sattara.....	67,820	57,647,000	22·4	25,73,527
Total..	504,013	539,253,600	...	2,21,24,406

*Cotton.*

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	Price per Candy.	Total Value.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad .....	707,041	80	56,563,280	170	1,22,64,997
Kaira .....					
Surat ..					
Khandeish ...					
Tanna .....	704,629	60	42,277,740	170	91,67,367
Poona .....					
Ahmednuggur ..					
Kulladghee .....					
Rutnagherry .....					
Belgaum .....					
Dharwar .....					
Sattara.....					

\* Average of Tanna and Alibaug.

† Price at Dhoolia being not given, I have taken the same with Tanna.

## SUMMARY.

*Northern Division.*

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bajri .....	1,018,870	3,21,50,323		
Jowari .....	808,262	1,97,88,655		
Rice ... ..	672,273	3,60,16,783		
		8,79,55,761—10 % =	7,91,60,185	
Cotton .....	707,041		1,22,64,997	
Total.....	3,206,446		Rs. 9,14,25,182	

Average per acre.....Rs. 28·51.

*Southern Division.*

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bajri .....	2,715,715	5,98,35,748		
Jowari .....	4,906,070	7,37,54,269		
Rice .....	504,013	2,21,24,406		
		15,57,14,423—10% =	14,01,42,981	
Cotton .....	704,629		91,67,867	
Total.....	8,830,427		Rs. 14,93,10,348	

Average per acre.....Rs. 17.

*Total Cultivated Area.*

	Acres.	Rs.
Northern Division .....	5,128,221 at Rs. 28·51 =	14,62,05,580
Southern ,, .....	13,985,892 at ,, 17 =	23,77,60,164

Total ..... Rs. 38,39,65,744

This gives for the whole of the Bombay Presidency the total value as Rs. 38,39,65,744, or say 40,000,000L., for a population of 11,000,000.

About two or three months ago I came across an unexpected confirmation of my calculations. I was able to get from my friend, Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, a few notes from Colonel Prescott's Reports on the Settlement of Akleshwar Taluka—I suppose an average Gujerat taluka. Colonel Prescott has made the value of gross produce (excluding straw) about Rs. 24 per acre. Why, my estimate for the whole of the Northern Division is above Rs. 28 per acre.

## OUDH.

The Administration Report does not give the agricultural tables, but they are given in the Revenue Report. Wheat forms the most important produce in Oudh, as in the North-west Provinces. I take it to represent the whole produce. In the Revenue Report ending 30th September, 1868, the average produce per acre is given as 892 lbs.—say 900 lbs. Now, in Oudh, irrigated land is nearly within 10 per cent. of unirrigated land. I shall give the above produce per acre for both, as the table also gives this as the average of all land. The year 1867-8 was somewhat below an average good season, and the prices, therefore, higher than

they would be for an average good season year. I take them, however, as they are. The average for wheat, first quality, is given at Rs. 1-9-7 per maund of 80 lbs., and for second quality Rs. 1-8-4—the average will be about Rs. 1-9. As a small correction for the prices being of an inferior season, the average being on the usual wrong principle, and the second quality being the largest quantity, I shall deduct only 10 per cent. The total cultivated area is 12,486 square miles, or 7,991,040 acres. The total produce, at 900 lbs. of wheat per acre, will be 7,191,936,000 lbs.; and the total value, at the rate of Rs. 1-9 per maund of 80 lbs., will be Rs. 14,04,67,500. This, less 10 per cent., will be Rs. 12,64,20,750, or say 13,000,000*l.*, for a population of 9,500,000.

*Summary.*

Provinces.	Value of the Produce of Cultivated Land.	Population.	Produce per Head.
Central Provinces .....	£16,000,000	9,000,000	Rs. 18
Punjab .....	36,000,000	17,500,000	21
North-west Provinces .....	40,000,000	30,000,000	14
Bengal.....	96,000,000	67,000,000	15
Madras .....	36,000,000	26,500,000	14
Bombay .....	40,000,000	11,000,000	36
Oudh .....	13,000,000	9,500,000	14
Total.....	£277,000,000	170,500,000	

Such is the produce of India for a good season year, in which any second crops will be fully included. I have not taken the produce of grazing-land, or straw or kurby, though the cattle required for cultivation and stock need not only all these grazing-lands, but also a portion of the produce of the cultivated land, such as some grains, fodder, and other produce. From the above total of 277,000,000*l.* it is necessary to deduct for seed for next year, say, only 6 per cent.—that is, allowing sixteen-fold for produce of land. The balance will be about 260,000,000*l.* as the produce of cultivation, during a good season, for human use and consumption for a year. If the Government of India would calculate this production correctly, it would find the total a good deal under the above figures.

I have next to add for annual produce of stock for consumption, annual value of manufacturing industry, nett opium revenue, cost of production of salt, coals and mines, and profits of foreign commerce.

Salt, opium, coal, and profits of commerce will be about 17,000,000*l.* For annual price of manufacturing industry or stock, I have not come across full particulars. The manufacturing industry in the Punjab—

where there are some valuable industries, such as shawls, silks, &c.—to the total estimated value of the “annual out-turns of all works,” is put down as about 3,774,000*l*. From this we deduct the value of the raw produce; and if I allow this value to be doubled by all the manufactures, I shall be making a good allowance. Say, then, that the value of the industry is about 2,000,000*l*., including the price of wool; the manufactures of other parts of India are not quite as valuable. Therefore, for the population of all British India, which is about ten times that of the Punjab, if I take 15,000,000*l*. for the value of manufacturing industry, I shall not be far from the mark. The total for Central Provinces for 1870-1 for all manufactures is about 1,850,000*l*. There are no very valuable industries, allowing, therefore, 850,000*l*. for the value of the industry for a population of 9,000,000. In this proportion, the total value for India will be about, say, 17,000,000*l*. For the annual produce of stock and fish for human consumption, as milk or meat, I can hardly get sufficient data to work upon. I hope Government will give the particulars more fully, so that the annual production of stock for consumption, either as milk or meat, may be known. I set it down as 15,000,000*l*. as a guess only. All this will make up a total of about 307,000,000*l*. I add for any contingencies another 30,000,000*l*., making at the utmost 340,000,000*l*. for a population of 170,000,000, or 40*s*. a-head for an average *good season*. I have no doubt that if the Statistical Department worked out the whole correctly and fully, they would find the total less. Again, when further allowance is made for bad seasons, I cannot help thinking that the result will be nearer 30*s*. than 40*s*. a-head. One thing is evident—that I am not guilty of any under-estimate of produce.

Adding this additional 63,000,000*l*. in proportion of population—that is to say, 7*s*. 5*d*. per head—the total production per head of each province will be as follows:—

	<i>s</i> .	<i>d</i> .		<i>s</i> .	<i>d</i> .
Central Provinces .....	43	5	Madras .....	35	5
Punjab .....	49	5	Bombay .....	79	5
North-west Provinces ...	35	5	Oudh.....	35	5
Bengal .....	37	5			
			Average .....	40	0

#### NECESSARY CONSUMPTION.

I now consider what is necessary for the bare wants of a human being, to keep him in ordinary good health and decency.

I have calculated production chiefly for the year 1867-8; I shall take the same year for ascertaining the necessary consumption.

Surgeon S. B. Partridge, Government Medical Inspector of Emigrants, in a statement dated Calcutta, 26th March, 1870,\* proposes the following as a scale of diet to supply the necessary ingredients of nourishment for the emigrant coolies during their voyage, living in a state of quietude:—

\* The *Indian Economist* of 15th October, 1870—Statistical Reporter, page 45.



Rice Diet for One Man.		For Flour Diet.	
	oz.		oz.
Rice.....	20·0	Flour .....	16·0
Dhal .....	6·0	Dhal .....	4·0
Preserved Mutton .....	2·5	Preserved Mutton ..	2·5
Vegetables .....	4·27	Vegetables.....	4·27
Ghee .....	1·0	Ghee .....	1·5
Mustard Oil .....	0·5	Mustard Oil .....	0·5
Salt.....	1·0	Salt.....	1·0
Total.....	35·27	Total.....	29·77

The Administration Report of Bengal for 1870-1 gives, in Appendix 11 D<sub>2</sub>, the following "scale of provisions for ships carrying Indian emigrants to British and foreign colonies west of the Cape of Good Hope":—

*"Daily Allowance to each Statute Adult [Children above two and under ten years of age to receive half rations]."*

Class.	Articles.	Remarks.
Grain .....	Rice ..... 20 0	(Four kinds of dhals make up this quantity.)
	Flour ..... 16 0	
	Dhal . { for rice-eaters... 6 0	
	{ for flour-eaters... 4 0	
Oil .....	Ghee.. { for rice-eaters... 1 0	Half an ounce extra allowance of ghee to each adult for every day that dried fish is supplied.
	{ for flour-eaters... 1 8	
	Mustard Oil ..... 0 8	
Meat, &c. ....	Preserved Mutton. 2 8	In lieu of preserved mutton to be supplied at scale rate, dried fish for two to three weeks. Fresh mutton (sheep) one week.
Vegetables .....	1 oz. Pumpkins or Yams ..... 5 0	In lieu of fresh potatoes, a sufficient quantity of preserved potatoes to allow 2 oz. twice a week to each adult, or about five weeks' supply at scale rate.
	2 oz. Potatoes ...	
	2 oz. Onions .....	
Curry-stuff, &c. ....	Garlic..... 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Mustard Seed ..... 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Chillies ..... 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Black Pepper ..... 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Coriander Seed..... 0 2	
	Turmeric ... ..... 0 4	
	Tamarind ..... 0 8	
Narcotic .....	Salt ..... 0 8	Or in lieu of firewood, its equivalent in coal for half the quantity."
	Prepared Tobacco.. 0 7	
	Leaf... ..... 0 3	
	Firewood ..... 2 0	

Besides the above, there is an allowance for dry provision, to be used at the discretion of the surgeon, for medical comforts, medicine, instruments and appliances for hospital and dispensary. Again, for confirmed opium-eaters or *ganja*-smokers, the surgeon-superintendent is to see a proper quantity supplied. Surgeon Partridge's scale is absolutely necessary to supply the necessary ingredients of nitrogen and carbon; not the slightest luxury—no sugar or tea, or any little enjoyment of life, but simple animal subsistence of coolies living in a state of quietude. I have worked out below the cost of living according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for the year 1867-8 at Ahmedabad prices. The scale in the Bengal Administration Report provides curry-stuff and narcotics in addition, which I have not calculated in this table, though it can hardly be said that they are not necessities to those poor people.

*Cost of Necessary Living at Ahmedabad Prices, on 30th January, 1868, as given in the "Bombay Government Gazette."*

Rice, second sort, 20 oz. per day, or 37½ lbs. per month, at 15 lbs. per rupee .....	Rs. 2 8 0
Dhal, 6 oz. per day, or 11½ lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.* per rupee .....	„ 0 9 0
Preserved Mutton, 2·50 oz. per day, or 4 lbs. 11 oz. per month, at 6½ lbs.† per rupee.....	„ 0 11 7
Vegetables, 4·27 oz. per day, or 8 lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.‡ per rupee ..	„ 0 6 5
Ghee, 1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 2 lbs. 1 oz. per rupee ..	„ 0 11 0
Mustard Oil, 0·5 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 8 oz. per month, at 6 lbs.§ per rupee .....	„ 0 4 0
Salt, 1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 38 lbs.   per rupee ...	„ 0 0 10
Per Month.....	Rs. 5 2 10

The annual cost of living or subsistence only, at Ahmedabad prices, is thus Rs. 62-2.

The following is an estimate of the lowest absolute scale of necessities of a common agricultural labourer in the Bombay Presidency annually, by Mr. Kazeer Shahabudin:—

*Food—*

1½ lbs. Rice per day, at Rs. 2 to Rs. 2·8 per maund of 40 lbs., say	Rs. 28 8
Salt, including waste, about 1 oz. a-day .....	„ 1 0
½ lb. Dhal.....	„ 9 0
Vegetables .....	„ 0 0
Food-oil .....	„ 5 0
Condiments, Chillies, &c. ....	„ 0 0
Tobacco .....	„ 5 0
	Rs. 48 8

\* There are three kinds of dhal—Oorud, Moong, and Toor. I take an average.

† I don't find price of preserved mutton. I have taken of mutton.

‡ No price is given for vegetables. I take it the same as dhal.

§ No price of mustard oil is given. I have taken for teel, which is the cheapest among the four kinds of oil given in the table.

|| This is the price of common sea salt, which would require to be taken more than a ¼ oz. to make up for the ¼ oz. of good salt required. Also there is some wastage or loss.

*Clothing—*

3 Dhotees a-year .....	Rs. 3* 0
1 pair Champal (shoes) .....	" 0 12
Half a Turban .....	" 1 8
1 Bunde (jacket).....	" 1 0
2 Kamlees (blankets) .....	" 1 8
1 Rumal (handkerchief) .....	" 0 2
1 Rain-protector .....	" 0 4
	<hr/>
	Rs. 8 2

## The dress of the female of the house—

1½ Saree (dress).....	Rs. 3 12
1 Cholee (short jacket) .....	" 0 12
Oil for head .....	" 1 8
Bangrees (glass-bangles) .....	" 0 6
Half a Champal (shoes) .....	" 0 4
Extras.....	" 1 0
	<hr/>
	Rs. 7 10

The old members of the family will require as much.

*Lodging—*

Hut (labour taken as his own).....	Rs. 25 0
Hut Repairs (bamboos, &c.), per annum .....	" 4 0
Oil for Lamp, per day .....	" 0 0½
Barber, per month.....	" 0 1
Domestic Utensils, per annum.....	" 0 12

Say altogether Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 for the family.

Taking one-quarter less, for reasons stated further on, to calculate the cost per head of family, the result will be—

Food.....	Rs. 36	} Without any prevision for social and religious wants, letting alone luxuries, and anything to spare for bad seasons.
Clothing .....	" 6	
Lodging .....	" 3	
	Rs. 45	

The Report of the Bombay Price Commission gives the following particulars of the wants of the lowest servants of Government (pages 85, 86), supplied from the Poona District :—

Articles.	Quantities per Month.	Cost per Month in 1863.	Remarks.
	Seers.	Rs. a.	
Rice .....	12	1 8	It will be observed that simple living and clothing are here exhibited, and nothing is taken into account for support of dependent members of family, servants, religious, and other domestic expenses.
Bajri .....	12	1 4	
Toor Dhal, &c. ....	4	0 12	
Ghee .....	0½	0 10	
Vegetables .....	...	0 6	
Oil .....	1½	0 6	
Firewood .....	...	0 8	
Salt .....	1	0 1	
Mussala .....	...	0 2	
Chillies .....	0½	0 2	
Milk .....	4	0 8	
Betelnut-leaves ..	...	0 8	
		<hr/>	
		Rs. 6 11	

*Clothing—*

	Cost per Month.
Turbans .....	Rs. 0 8
Dhotee .....	„ 0 10
Puncha .....	„ 0 2
Rumal .....	„ 0 0½
Coats .....	„ 0 3
Waistcoat .....	„ 0 2
Shoes .....	„ 0 1½

Total..... Rs. 1 11

Grand Total.....Rs. 8 6 permonth.

For Poona the above scale is calculated to cost Rs. 6-11 per month, or Rs. 80-4 per annum, at the high prices of 1863, while my estimate according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for 1867-8, is Rs. 5-2-10 per month, or Rs. 62-2 per annum—nearly 24 per cent. less, as prices have gone lower. For clothing, the estimate for 1863 is Rs. 1-11 per month, or Rs. 20-8 per annum, while Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is only Rs. 8-2 in 1868. Even allowing for fall in prices, Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is lower, and calculated on a very low scale for an agricultural labourer in the poorest districts, while that of 1863 is for the lowest class of Government servants. Upon the whole, therefore, the estimate given for 1867-8, as for the bare necessities of a common agricultural labourer, is evidently under the mark.

Lately I found the following in the “Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India” for 1871-2: “The best account of the Bombay peasantry is still probably that by Mr. Coats, written fifty years ago. “The clothes of a man then cost about 12s., and the furniture of his house “about 2l.”—(Parliamentary Return No. 172 of 28th April, 1873.)

I have not been able to work out the details of cost of living in other parts of India. For the present I give the following approximate comparison for 1867-8:—

*Gaols.*

Provinces.	Cost of Living.	Cost of Clothing.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Central Provinces .....	25 8 0	5 8 0	31 0 0
Punjab .....	23 6 0	3 13 0	27 3 0
North-west Provinces ...	18 8 0	3 5 0	21 13 0
Bengal* .....	28 3 0	3 8 0	31 11 0
Madras .....	†49 2 7	3 15 9	52 2 4
Bombay .....	41 13 0	5 10 0	47 7 0
Oudh .....	.....	.....	.....

\* Administration Report of Gaols for 1871, page 39 of Appendix.

† This appears to be a very large expenditure. Besides, the average is taken on the wrong principle, without taking the number of the prisoners in each district into account. The correct average will be above Rs. 50.

Now, the Bengal Census Report of 1872, page 109 of the Appendix, gives the per-centage of population according to age, as follows : Males : Not exceeding 12 years, 18·8 ; above 12, 31·3. Females : Not exceeding 12 years, 15·7 ; above 12, 34·2. The Census of the North-west Provinces gives nearly the same result. Above 12 years, adults, 64·4 per cent. ; under 12, 35·6 per cent. (see Administration Report for 1871-2, page 55 ; Census Report, vol. i., page 31.)

The total adults—that is, above 12 years—are 65·5 per cent., and infants or children under 12 years 34·5 per cent., which gives the proportion of two adults to each child, or one child to every three persons.

From taking the cost of adults per head to be  $a$ , and cost of the mass per head to be  $x$ , and supposing that, out of 34 per cent. of children under 12, only 17 per cent. cost anything, say one-half of the adult (though the Bengal provision is half for children from two to ten years), while the other 17 cost nothing at all, the problem will be—

$$66a + 17 \frac{a}{2} + 17 \times 0 = 100x$$

$$x = \frac{74\frac{1}{2}a}{100}, \text{ or say } \frac{75a}{100} \text{ or } \frac{3}{4}a,$$

*i.e.*, the cost outside gaol, or for the whole mass per head, will be about three-fourths of inside the gaol, allowing the gaol for adults only. Thus, taking the cost of three persons in the gaol, or of three adults, to four persons outside, or of the mass, it comes to this :—

Provinces.	Production per Head.		Three-fourths of Gaol Cost of Living, or Cost per Head outside Gaol.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Central Provinces .....	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	or say 22	23
Punjab .....	24 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 25	20
North-west Provinces .....	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 18	16
Madras .....	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 18	41
Bengal .....	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 19	23-12
Bombay .....	39 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 40	35
Oudh .....	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	„ 18	...

It will be seen, from a comparison of the above figures, that, even for such food and clothing as a criminal obtains, there is hardly enough of production even in a good season, leaving alone all little luxuries, all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and any provision for bad season. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that every poor labourer does not get the full share of the average production. The high and middle classes get a much larger share, the poor classes much less, while the lowest cost of living is generally above the average share.

Such appears to be the condition of the masses of India. They do not get enough to provide the bare necessities of life.

On the subject of necessary consumption, I shall be very glad if some members of this Association, or others who possess or can ascertain the necessary information, will supply it, as I have not been able to make such minute and extended inquiries myself as I could wish.

#### DEFICIT OF IMPORTS COMPARED WITH THE EXPORTS OF INDIA.

The total imports and exports of the United Kingdom for the years 1858 to 1870 are: Imports, 3,608,216,242*l.* (including bullion); exports, 2,875,027,301*l.* (including bullion). This shows an *excess of imports* over exports of 733,188,941*l.*—*i.e.*, the imports are above 25 per cent. greater than the exports.

This excess is to be increased to the extent of about 125,000,000*l.*, the balance of loans to India included in the exports, less interest on these loans included in imports of about 60,000,000*l.*, and by such further amounts as may be made up by balances of loans and interests with foreign parts. As England is the greatest lending country in the world, the ultimate result of excess of commercial imports over commercial exports will most probably be above, rather than under, 733,000,000*l.*, or 25 per cent. of exports. At all events, it will not be less than 15 per cent.

For British North America, the total imports and exports, including bullion, for the years 1854 to 1868, are: Imports, 200,257,620*l.*; exports, 154,900,367*l.* This shows an excess of imports over exports of 45,357,253*l.*—*i.e.*, the imports are about 29 per cent. more than the exports, subject to a modification of the extent to which it has received from, or given loan to, foreign parts. As far as I can see, it is a borrower, and the excess to that extent will be lesser.

For Australia, the total imports and exports, including bullion, for the years 1854 to 1868, are: Imports, 443,407,019*l.*; exports, 384,503,081*l.* The excess of imports over exports is therefore 58,903,938*l.*—*i.e.*, the imports are 15 per cent. more than the exports, subject to modification, as in the case of British North America, for its foreign debt. These figures show that the normal condition of the foreign commerce of any country is generally such that for its exports there is always a return in imports equal to the exports, *plus* profits. On an average commercial profits may be taken at 20 per cent. Indian merchants generally insure by sailing vessels 25 per cent. more, and by steamers 15 per cent., for profits, as by steamers the same capital may be turned over oftener. If I take general commercial profits as 15 per cent., I shall be quite under the mark.

Now we must see what the case is with India. The exports of India

for the years 1835 to 1872 being about 1,120,000,000*l.*, the imports, with an addition of 15 per cent. to exports for profits (of about 168,000,000*l.*), should be about 1,288,000,000*l.* Besides this, India has incurred to foreign parts a debt of about 50,000,000*l.* for the public debt, and about 100,000,000*l.* for railways, during the same period.

Now, on the other hand, in return for the exports, *plus* profits, of 1,288,000,000*l.* and 150,000,000*l.* of the loans, India has actually imported, during the last thirty-eight years, from 1835 to 1872 (not, as would be the case in a normal condition, 1,430,000,000*l.*, but) only about 943,000,000*l.*, leaving a balance of about 500,000,000*l.*, which England has kept back as its benefit, chiefly arising from the political position it holds over India. This is without including any interest at all. Towards this drain, the nett opium revenue contributed by China amounts to about 141,000,000*l.* The balance, of about 360,000,000*l.*, is derived from India's own produce and profits of commerce. The profits of commerce are, say, about 168,000,000*l.* Allowing, then, the *whole opium revenue* and the *whole profit of commerce* as having gone towards the drain, there is still a deficiency of nearly 200,000,000*l.*, which must have gone out of the produce of the country. Deducting from this 200,000,000*l.* the interest on railway loans remitted to England, the balance still sent from the very produce of the country is about 144,000,000*l.* Strictly speaking, the whole 200,000,000*l.* should be considered as a drain from the very produce of the country, because it is the exhaustion caused by the drain that disables us from building our railroads, &c., from our own means. If we did not suffer the exhaustion we do, and even then if we found it to our benefit to borrow from England, the case would be one of a healthy natural business, and the interest then remitted would have nothing to be deplored in it, as in the case of other countries, which, being young, or with undeveloped resources, and without much means of their own, borrow from others, and increase their own wealth thereby, as Australia, Canada, the United States, or any other Native-ruled country that so borrows. However, as matters stand at present, we are thankful for the railway loan, for in reality that, though as a loan (with the profits during the American War), has revived us a little. But we are sinking fast again. Allowing for the railway interest as a mere matter of business, and analyzing the deficit of imports, or drain to England as only about 453,000,000*l.*, the following is the yearly average for every five years:—

Years.	Yearly Average.	Years.	Yearly Average.
1835 to 1839.....	£5,347,000	1855 to 1859.....	£7,730,000
1840 „ 1844.....	5,930,000	1860 „ 1864.....	17,360,000
1845 „ 1849.....	7,760,000	1865 „ 1869... ..	24,600,000
1850 „ 1854 . . . . .	7,458,000	1870 „ 1872.....	27,400,000

Now, can it be shown by anybody that the production during these thirty-eight years has been such as to leave the same amount per head every year, and surplus besides to make up the above 200,000,000*l.* taken away from the produce of the country, in *addition* to opium revenue and profits of commerce? In that case it will be that India is no better off now, but is only in the same condition as in 1834. If it can be shown that the production of the country has been such as to be the same per head during all these years, and a surplus greater than 200,000,000*l.* besides, then will it be that any material benefit has been derived by India to the extent of such excess of surplus over 200,000,000*l.* It must, however, be remembered that, in the years about 1834, the condition of the people had already gone down very low by the effects of the previous deficits, as will be seen further on from the official opinions I have given there.

The benefit to England by its connection with India must not be measured by the 500,000,000*l.* only during the last thirty-eight years. Besides this, the industries of England receive large additional support for supplying all European stores which Government need, and all those articles which Europeans want in India from their habits and customs, not from mere choice, as may be the case with Natives. All the produce of the country, thus exported from sheer necessity, would otherwise have brought returns suitable to Native wants, or would have remained in the country, in either case, to the benefit of the produce or industry of India. Be it clearly borne in mind that all this additional benefit to English industries is entirely independent of, and in addition to, the *actual deficit* between the export, *plus* profits and imports. Everything I allude to is already included in the imports. It is so much additional capital drawn away, whether India will or no, from the industry of India to the benefit of English industry. There is, again, the further legitimate benefit to England of the profits of English firms there carrying on commerce with India, the profits of the shipping trade, and insurance. The only pity—and a very great one too—is that the commerce between England and India is not so large as it should and can be, the present *total* exports of India to all the outside world being only about 5*s.* a-head, while the exports of the United Kingdom are about 6*l.* 10*s.* a-head, of British North America about 3*l.* a-head, and of Australia about 19*l.* a-head, including gold (and exclusive of gold, about 11*l.* a-head). Again, what are the imports into India from the United Kingdom, including treasure, Government stores of every kind, railway and other stores, articles for European consumption, and everything for Native consumption and use? Only less than 3*s.* a-head, as follows:—



*Total Imports, including Treasure, into India from the United Kingdom.*

1868 .....	£31,629,315	} Say 32,000,000 <i>l.</i> , on an average, for a population of about 225,000,000, or less than 3 <i>s.</i> a-head.
1869 .....	35,309,973	
1870 .....	30,357,055	
1871 .....	28,826,264	

—(Parliamentary Return [c. 587] of 1872, page 16, Trade and Navigation Returns of the United Kingdom.)

What a vast field there is for English commerce in India ! Only 1*l.* a-head will be equal to nearly the whole present exports of the United Kingdom to all parts of the world. There is one further circumstance against British-Indian subjects, which will show the actual drain from the produce of the country of more than 200,000,000*l.* as borne by British India. The exports from India do not all belong to British India ; a portion belongs to the Native States. These States naturally get back their imports equal to their exports, *plus* profits—less only the tribute they pay to British India, of only about 720,000*l.* altogether per annum, of which even a portion is spent in their own States. No account can I take here of the further loss to India (by famines) of life and property, which is aggravated by the political exhaustion. It is complained that England is at the mercy of India for its loan of some 200,000,000*l.*, but let it be borne in mind that within the next few years that sum will have been drawn by England, while India will continue to have its debt over its head.

The figures of the deficit previous to 1834 I cannot get. I hope the India Office will prepare a table similar to this for this previous period, in order that it may be ascertained how India had fared materially under British rule altogether.

The effect of the deficit is not equally felt by the different Presidencies. Bengal suffers less than the others on account of its permanent settlement. I do not mean that as any objection to such settlement, but I state it merely as a fact.

The Court of Directors, in the year 1858, deliberately put before the Parliament and public of England the statement (Parliamentary Return No. 75 of 1858) that “the great excess of exports above imports “is being regularly liquidated in silver.” Now, is it not India’s misfortune that not one man in the India Office pointed out how utterly incorrect, misleading, and mischievous this statement was?

Now, Mr. Laing makes the following statement before the present Finance Committee : “*Question 7,660 of 2nd Report.*—Would it not “be correct to state that the difference between the value of the exports “from India, and the imports into India, which now amount, I think, “to the sum of about 20,000,000*l.*, represents the tribute which India “annually pays to England ? *Answer.*—No, I think not ; I should not

“call it a tribute when there is a balance of trade of that sort between the two countries. There are many other countries which are in the same condition, of exporting considerably more than they import from one particular country, and the balance of trade is adjusted either by other payments which have to be made, or by transactions through third countries, or finally by remittance of bullion.”

First of all, the question was not about India's commerce with any particular country, but about *all* its exports and imports. And next, taking his answer as it is, it is altogether incorrect and inapplicable to India, as must be evident from the facts I have already laid before you.

Next comes Mr. Maclean. He is reported to have said before this Committee something to the effect that if we compare India, for instance, with the United States, which can hardly be called a country that is being drained of its natural wealth, we will find that the excess of exports over imports in the United States is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India. Now, let us see what the facts are. I have prepared a table, and have taken the figures from the year 1795—the earliest I could get. From the totals I have excluded the years 1802—6, 1808—14, 1818—20, because the imports for them are not given, and the years 1863—6 for reasons well known (the American War). The result till 1869 (I cannot get later authentic figures) is not, as Mr. Maclean says, that “the excess of exports over imports in the United States “is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India,” but that the excess of *imports* over exports is about \$493,000,000 till 1847, and 43,000,000*l.* from 1848—69, excepting the years I have mentioned above; and if all the necessary modifications from various other circumstances be made, the excess of the imports will be found necessarily much greater. In fact, the United States are no exception to the ordinary laws of political economy, in a country where the rule is a Native, and not a foreign, one. I have made up my tables from Parliamentary Returns.

The deficits of 500,000,000*l.* in imports do not, as I have already explained, show the whole drain; for the English stores, whether Government or private, are all already *included in the imports*, nor is any interest calculated. With interest the drain from India would amount to a very high figure.

This drain consists of two elements—first, that arising from the remittances by European officials of their savings, and for their expenditure in England for their various wants both there and in India; from pensions and salaries paid in England; and from Government expenditure in England and India; and the second, that arising from similar remittances by non-official Europeans. Over the first we have no

control, beyond urging upon our rulers that the present system of administration is an unnatural one, destructive to India and suicidal for England. For the second, it is in our own hands what its extent should be. It is no blame to these European gentlemen coming here to seek their fortunes—and, in fact, we have need for them to some extent; but if we are blind to our own national interests and necessities, and if we do not support, encourage, and preserve in every possible way every talent, trade, industry, art, or profession among the Natives, even at certain sacrifices, the fault is our own, and we deserve to be, and shall be, impoverished. In complaining, therefore, about the vast drain from India, and our growing impoverishment, it must be borne in mind that for a certain portion of it we have to thank our own blindness to our national interests, but for a large portion the cause is the present system and policy of Indian administration.

We may draw our own inferences about the effects of the drain, but I give you below official opinions on the subject, from early times to the present day, for each Presidency.

#### BENGAL.

Sir John Shore, in 1787, says, in his famous Minute (Appendix to 5th Report, Parliamentary Return No. 377 of 1812):—

“ 129. Secondly, it is a certain fact that the zemindars are almost universally poor. . . . Justice and humanity calls for this declaration.

“ 130. . . . I do not, however, attribute this fact to the extortions of our Government, but to the causes which I shall hereafter point out, and which will be found sufficient to account for the effect. I am by no means convinced that the reverse would have taken place if the measure of our exactions had been more moderate.

“ 131. Thirdly, the Company are merchants, as well as sovereigns of the country. In the former capacity they engross its trade, whilst in the latter they appropriate the revenues. The remittances to Europe of revenues are made in the commodities of the country which are purchased by them.

“ 132. Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counterbalanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion.

“ 135. Every information, from the time of Bernier to the acquisition of the Dewani, shows the internal trade of the country, as carried on between Bengal and the upper parts of Hindustan, the

"Gulf of Moro, the Persian Gulf, and the Malabar Coast, to have been very considerable. Returns of specie and goods were made through these channels by that of the foreign European companies, and in gold direct for opium from the eastward.

"136. But from the year 1765 the reverse has taken place. The Company's trade produces no equivalent returns; specie is rarely imported by the foreign companies, nor brought into Bengal from other parts of Hindustan in any considerable quantities.

"141. If we were to suppose the internal trade of Hindustan again revived, the export of the production of the country by the Company must still prevent those returns which trade formerly poured in. This is an evil inseparable from a European Government."

Page 194.—"A large proportion of the rents of the country are paid into the Company's treasury, and the manufacturers are applied to remit to England the surplus which remains after discharging the claims on this Government, and to augment the commerce and revenue of Great Britain."

Lord Cornwallis's Minute on Land Settlements, dated 10th February, 1790, says: "The consequence of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes (viz., large annual investment to Europe, assistance to the Treasury of Calcutta, and to supply wants of other Presidencies), with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittances of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now, severely felt, by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country."

The East India Company, on finding the provinces of Bengal and Behar continuously deteriorating, caused a long and minute survey of the condition of the people. This survey extended over nine years, from 1807 to 1816. The reports, however, lay buried in the archives of the India House till Mr. Montgomery Martin brought them to light. He sums up the result of these official minute researches in the following remarkable words (vol. i., page 11): "It is impossible to avoid remarking two facts as peculiarly striking—first, the richness of the country surveyed; and, second, the poverty of its inhabitants."

Before proceeding further, I must first say that the drain to which these great men have referred was much less than at present. I give the figures in Mr. Martin's words (page 12): "The annual drain of 3,000,000*l.* on British India has amounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of 723,900,000*l.* sterling. . . So constant and accumulating a drain, even

"in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, must be its effects on India, where the wage of a labourer is from twopence to threepence a-day!"

In volume iii., page 4, &c., alluding to the nine years' survey, Mr. Martin says that the obscurity to which such a survey was consigned was to be deplored, "and can only be accounted for by supposing that it was deemed impolitic to publish to the world so painful a picture of human poverty, debasement, and wretchedness;" and Mr. Martin draws many other painful conclusions.

Coming down to later times, Mr. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, has left us the following account of the condition of the people in 1837 (vol. ii., page 28): "But the halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." "The gradual impoverishment of the people and country, under the mode of rule established by the British Government has," &c., &c. "The English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled."

For the manner in which the cotton industry of India was destroyed, see note at page 37 of the same volume. In his concluding remarks (vol. ii., page 516) Mr. Shore says: "More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the Natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the Native Governments which we have supplanted, the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation, our anxiety to benefit the people,—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.

"Like most other young men who had no opportunities of judging for themselves, it was but natural that I should imbibe the same notions; to which may be added the idea of universal depravity of the people, which was derived from the same source."

After stating how his transfer to a remote district brought him into intimate contact with Natives, how he found them disaffected towards British rule, and how this conviction in spite of himself was irresistible, he says: "This being the case, an attempt to discover the reasons for such sentiments on the part of the Native population was the natural result. Well-founded complaints of oppression and extortion on the part of both Government and individuals were innumerable. The question then was, why, with all our high professions, were not such evils redressed? This, however, I was assured, was impossible under the existing system; and I was thus gradually led to an inquiry into the principles and practice of the British-Indian administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards our Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefit of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the Native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honour, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept. . . . Had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted, and very different results would have followed; for, again and again I repeat it, there is nothing in the circumstance itself, of our being foreigners of different colour and faith, that should occasion the people to hate us. We may thank ourselves for having made their feelings towards us what they are."

In vol. i., page 162, Mr. Shore says: "The ruin of the upper classes (like the exclusion of the people from a share in the government) was a necessary consequence of the establishment of the British power; but had we acted on a more liberal plan, we should have fixed our authority on a much more solid foundation."

Colonel Marriot, at the East India Association meeting in July last, referring to Bengal, said: "But he had no doubt that he accurately quoted the words of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in saying that the mass of the population is probably poorer, and in a lower social position, than any in India."

The "Material and Moral Progress" for 1871-2 (page 100) says that "the Calcutta Missionary Conference had dwelt on the miserable and abject condition of the Bengal ryots, and there is evidence that

“ they suffer many things, and are often in want of absolute necessities.”

## BOMBAY.

Mr. Saville Marriot, “ one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan,” and afterwards a Member of Council, says in 1836, in his letter to Sir R. Grant: “ You will readily conceive that my opinions are the result rather of practical experience than deduction drawn from scientific views. . . . For many years past, I have, in common with many others, painfully witnessed their decline [the people’s]; and more especially that part of the community which has emphatically been styled the ‘ sinews of the State ’—the peasantry of India. It is not a single, but a combination of causes, which has produced this result. Some of these are, and have been from the beginning, obvious to those who have watched with attention the development of the principles of our rule in relation to such as have been superseded, become blended with our system, or are opposed to it in practical effect. Others are less apparent, and some complex; whilst another cause of the decline may possibly be involved in obscurity. It is a startling but too notorious a fact, that, though loaded with a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation, and harassed by various severe acts of tyranny and oppression, yet the country was in a state of prosperity under the Native rule, when compared with that into which it has fallen under the avowedly mild sway of British administration. Though, in stating the subject, I have used the expression ‘ a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation,’ yet I would beg to be understood as being fully aware those terms must be treated in a qualified sense, since it is manifest that, relatively viewed, a smaller numerical amount of taxation may, with reference to the means of payment, be, in point of fact, more burdensome than a much larger one where the resources are more adequate to the object. But, in the particular case in point, it is, I believe, ability which has diminished; and that, too, to many grades below the proportionate fall in the pecuniary amount of fiscal demand. To the pecuniary injurious result are also to be added the many unfavourable circumstances inseparable for a time from a foreign rule. In elucidation of the position *that this country is verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism*, I would adduce a fact pregnant with considerations of the most serious importance—namely, that of late years a large portion of the public revenue has been paid by encroachment upon the capital of the country, small though that capital is in itself. I allude to the property of the peasantry, which consists of personal ornaments of the precious metals and jewels, convertible, as occasions require, to profitable purposes, and accommodations in agricultural pursuit, most

“ frequently in the shape of pawn, till the object has been attained. I  
 “ feel certain that an examination would establish *that a considerable*  
 “ *share of this and other property, even to cattle and household utensils,*  
 “ has been for ever alienated from its proprietors to make good the public  
 “ revenue. In addition to *this lamentable evidence of poverty,* is another  
 “ of equal force, to be seen in all parts of the country, in the numerous  
 “ individuals of the above class of the community wandering about for  
 “ the employment of hirelings, which they are glad to obtain even for the  
 “ most scanty pittance. In short, *almost everything forces the conviction*  
 “ *that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism.*”\*

Mr. Marriot, in another place (page 11), says: “ Most of the evils  
 “ of our rule in India arise directly from, or may be traced to, the heavy  
 “ tribute which that country pays to England.”

And with regard to this tribute, he quotes the Chairman of a Court  
 of Proprietors held on the 28th of February, 1845, as follows: “ India  
 “ paid to the mother-country, in the shape of home charges, what must  
 “ be considered the annual tribute of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and daily  
 “ poured into the lap of the mother-country a continual stream of wealth  
 “ in the shape of private fortunes.” To this should be added all earnings of  
 Europeans, except what they spent in India for Indian supplies; which  
 would show that there is something far beyond even private fortunes  
 which is continuously poured into the lap of England.

Mr. Marriot goes on to say: “ It will be difficult to satisfy the mind  
 “ that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without  
 “ sustaining very serious injury. And the writer entertains the fullest  
 “ conviction that investigation would effectually establish the truth of  
 “ the proposition as applicable to India. He has himself most painfully  
 “ witnessed it in those parts of the country with which he was con-  
 “ nected, and he has every reason to believe that the same evil exists,  
 “ with but slight modification, throughout our Eastern Empire.”

Again says Mr. Marriot (page 17): “ A different state of things  
 “ exists in the present day on that point; and, though the people still,  
 “ and gratefully so, acknowledge the benefits they have derived from the  
 “ suppression of open violence, yet they emphatically and unanswerably  
 “ refer to their increasing penury as evidencing the existence of a canker-  
 “ worm that is working their destruction. . . . The sketch which I have  
 “ given shows a distressing state of things; but lamentable as it may  
 “ appear, I would pledge myself to establish the facts advanced, and that  
 “ the representation is not overdrawn.”

Mr. Robert Knight says: “ Mr. Giberne, after an absence of fourteen

\* Mr. Marriot's pamphlet, re-published in 1857, page 13. The italics are mine.



“ years from Guzerat, returned to it, as judge, in 1840. ‘ Everywhere,’ he told the Commons’ Committee on Cotton Cultivation in 1848, ‘ he ‘ remarked deterioration,’ and ‘ I did not see so many of the more ‘ wealthy classes of the Natives. The aristocracy, when we first had ‘ the country, used to have their gay carts, horses, and attendants, and ‘ a great deal of finery about them, and there seems to be an absence ‘ of all that. . . . The ryots all complain that *they had had money once, ‘ but they had none now.*’ ”

In a private letter, dated 1849, “ written by a gentleman high in the “ Company’s service,” and quoted in a pamphlet in 1851, the decay of Guzerat is thus described: “ Many of the best families in the province, “ who were rich and well-to-do when we came into Guzerat in 1807, “ have now scarcely clothes to their backs. . . . Our demands in money “ on the talookdars are more than three times what they originally paid, “ without one single advantage gained on their parts. Parties from “ whom they have been compelled to borrow at ruinous rates of interest, “ enforced their demands by attachment of their lands and villages; “ thus they sink deeper and deeper in debt, without the chance of extri- “ cating themselves. What, then, must become of their rising family? ”\*

Lieutenant A. Nash, after giving a table of the prices of grain from 1809 to 1838 in Indapore (Bombay Government Selections, No. 107, New Series, page 118), says: “ The table is chiefly interesting in showing “ the gradual diminution in the price of corn from the days of the Peishwas “ to our own. By comparing the prices at the commencement with those “ at the end of the table, and then reading the list over, this circumstance “ will become apparent.” I give this table in my notes on prices.

#### MADRAS.

Mr. John Bruce Norton, in his letter to Mr. Robert Lowe, in 1854, quotes the words of Mr. Bourdillon, “ one of the ablest Revenue officers in “ the Madras Civil Service, and a Member of the Commission on Public “ Works,” about the majority of the ryots: Page 21.—“ Now, it may “ certainly be said of almost the whole of the ryots, paying even the “ highest of these sums, and even of many holding to a much larger “ amount, that they are always in poverty and generally in debt.” Page 22.—“ A ryot of this class, of course, lives from hand to mouth. “ He rarely sees money. . . . His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and “ thatched roof—far ruder, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of “ the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute, if “ possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food, and that

\* Mr. Robert Knight’s paper read before the East India Association, March 3rd, 1868.

"of his family, is partly thin porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice, with a little condiment; and generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from are of the coarsest earthenware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unglazed. Brass vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare."

About the labourer he says: "As respects food, houses, and clothing, they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots above spoken of. It appears from the foregoing details that the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country is very poor. . . . In fact, almost the whole of his earnings must necessarily be consumed in a spare allowance of coarse and unvaried food, and a bare sufficiency of clothing. The wretched hut he lives in can hardly be valued at all. As to anything in the way of education or mental culture, he is utterly destitute of it."

Such is the testimony in the year 1854. Now let us come down to so late a time as 1869. Mr. (now Sir) George Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, published by the Cobden Club, quotes from an official authority a report made so late as 1869 about the Madras Presidency, as follows: "The bulk of the people are paupers. They can just pay their cesses in a good year, and fail altogether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made, perhaps every third year, in most districts. There is a bad year in some one district, or group of districts, every year."

Again, the Parliamentary Report of the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1868-9, page 71, says: "Prices in Madras have been falling continuously."

#### PUNJAB.

The Administration Report for 1855-6 (Government of India Selections, No. 18, 1856,) gives the following table:—

*Average Prices.*

For Ten Years up to 1850-51.	Wheat, Rs. 2 per maund of 82 lbs.	Indian Corn, Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ per maund.
1851-2 .....	Rs. 1 per maund.	Rs. $0\frac{1}{2}$ per maund.
1852-3 .....	" $1\frac{3}{8}$ "	" $1\frac{1}{8}$ "
1853-4 .....	" $1\frac{3}{8}$ "	" $1\frac{3}{8}$ "
1854-5 .....	" 1 "	" $0\frac{1}{2}$ "
1855-6 .....	" $1\frac{1}{8}$ "	" $0\frac{1}{2}$ "

With the usual effects of the introduction of a foreign rule, and the seasons happening to be good, the result was a fall in prices to nearly

half during the five years after the annexation. The political portion of the causes of this depression is well described in a subsequent report, and how a change in that political portion produced a favourable reaction in the province.

The Administration Report of 1856-8 (Parliamentary Return No. 212 of 1859, page 16), "prepared under the direction of Sir J. Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner of Punjab, by R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab," says: "In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab contributed to depress the agriculturist. The Native regular army was Hindustani; to them was a large share of the Punjab revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that, year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the Native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

This is just the cause which, in a far more aggravated form and on a far larger scale, operates on the whole of British India in its relations with England. Millions are drained to England; and till the reversing cause of the retaining and return of wealth in some way comes into operation, the evils of the drain cannot be remedied. And what is the condition of a labourer now? Here is the Punjab Government's own answer in the Administration Report for 1867-8 (page 83). After stating the rates of unskilled labour as ranging from two annas (three-pence) to five annas (seven and a half pence) per diem, and alluding to a considerable rise in rates in places affected by the railway and other public works, where labour in any shape commands higher remuneration than formerly, the Report says: "It may be doubted whether the position of the unskilled labouring classes has materially improved."

#### NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Colonel Baird Smith's Report on the Famines of the North-west Provinces (Parliamentary Return No. 29 of 1862), referring to the famine of 1837, says: Page 57.—"From the time of our earliest acquisition of any part of these up to 1833, our fiscal system, notwithstanding some improvements on the Native method which were gradually introduced, had been thoroughly bad." Page 59.—"Speaking in

“ general terms, therefore, Native society in the N.W. Provinces had to face the calamity in 1837, debilitated by a fiscal system that was oppressive and depressing in its influence. . . . In India we all know very well that when the agricultural class is weak, the weakness of all other sections of the community is the inevitable consequence.”

I have not come across Mr. Halsey's report on the assessment of Cawnpore, but I take an extract from one given in the *Bombay Gazette* Summary of 21st June, 1872, page 21: “ I assert that the abject poverty of the average cultivator of this district is beyond the belief of any one who has not seen it. He is simply a slave to the soil, to the zemindar, to the usurer, and to Government. . . . I regret to say that, with these few exceptions, the normal state of between three-fourths and four-fifths of the cultivators of this district is as I have above shown. It may appear to many to be exaggerated, and, from the nature of the case, it is of course impossible to produce figures in support of it; nevertheless, it is the result of my personal observations, and I feel confident the result of the whole discussion will be to prove I have not overstated the truth.”

The figures I have given of the total produce of the North-west Provinces prove by fact what Mr. Halsey gives as his observations. Hardly 27s. per head—say even 30s.—cannot but produce the result he sees.

#### CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Here is the latest testimony about the people. Mr. W. G. Pedder says: \* “ . . . Who [the people], if an almost universal consensus of opinion may be relied on, are rapidly going from bad to worse under our rule, is a most serious question, and one well deserving the attention of Government.”

Lastly, to sum up the whole, here is Sir John Lawrence (Lord Lawrence) testifying so late as 1864 about all India: “ India is, on the whole, a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence.” And Lord Mayo, on the 3rd of March, 1871, says in his speech in the Legislative Council: “ I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive.”

“ Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by last mail, stated, with truth, that the position of our finance was wholly different

\* *Times of India* Summary of June 6th, 1873.

“from that of England. ‘In England,’ he stated, ‘you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at 800,000,000*l.* per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at 300,000,000*l.* per annum. That gives well on to 30*l.* per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only 2*l.* per annum as the income of every person in British India.’

“I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognizant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States.”

So here is a clear admission by high authorities of what I had urged in my paper on “The Wants and Means of India,” and what I now urge, that India’s production was only about 40*s.* a-head.

And now in the year 1873, before the Finance Committee, Lord Lawrence repeats his conviction that the mass of the people of India are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence. It is as much as a man can do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what may be called luxuries or conveniences. Mr. Grant Duff asked Mr. Lawson so late as in May, 1870, in the House of Commons, whether he meant to “grind an already poor population to the very dust.”

The following picture about England itself under similar circumstances may, I hope, enable the British people to realize our condition. The parallel is remarkable, and the picture in certain portions life-like of the present state of India. Draper’s “Intellectual Development of Europe,” 5th Edition: Page 365.—“In fact, through the operation of the Crusades, all Europe was tributary to the Pope (Innocent III.). . . . A steady drain of money from every realm. Fifty years after the time of which we are speaking, Robert Grostale, the Bishop of Lincoln and friend of Roger Bacon, caused to be ascertained the amount received by foreign ecclesiastics in England. He found it to be thrice the income of the king himself. This was on the occasion of Innocent IV. demanding provision to be made for three hundred additional Italian clergy by the Church of England; and that one of his nephews—a mere boy—should have a stall in Lincoln Cathedral.” Page 397.—“In England—for ages a mine of wealth to Rome—the tendency of things was shown by such facts as the remonstrances of the Commons with the Crown on the appointment of ecclesiastics to all the great offices, and the allegations made by the ‘Good Parliament’ as to the amount of money drawn by Rome from the kingdom. They asserted that it was five times as much as the taxes

"levied by the king, and that the Pope's revenue from England was "greater than the revenue of any prince in Christendom." Page 434.—"It is manifest by legal enactments early in the fourteenth century. ". . . By the Parliamentary Bill of 1376, setting forth that the tax "paid in England to the Pope for ecclesiastical dignities is fourfold as "much as that coming to the king from the whole realm; that alien "clergy, who have never seen, nor cared to see, their flocks, convey "away the treasure of the country." Page 477.—"The inferior, unre- "flecting orders were in all directions exasperated by its importunate, "unceasing exactions of money. In England, for instance, though less "advanced intellectually than the southern nations, the commencement "of the Reformation is perhaps justly referred as far back as the reign "of Edward III., who, under the suggestion of Wycliffe, refused to do "homage to the Pope; but a series of weaker princes succeeding, it was "not until Henry VII. that the movement could be continued. In that "country, the immediately existing causes were, no doubt, of a material "kind, such as the alleged avarice and impurity of the clergy, the im- "mense amount of money taken from the realm, the intrusion of foreign "ecclesiastics." Page 478.—"As all the world had been drained of "money by the Senate and Cæsars for the support of republican or "imperial power, so there was a need of like supply for the use of the "pontiffs. The collection of funds had often given rise to contentions "between the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and in some of the "more sturdy countries had been resolutely resisted."

The result of this drain from England to Italy was the condition of the people, as pictured at pages 494-5, than which nothing could be more painful. Mr. Draper says: "For many of the facts I have now "to mention, the reader will find authorities in the works of Lord "Macaulay, and Mr. Froude on English History. My own reading "in other directions satisfies me that the picture here offered repre- "sents the actual condition of things. . . . .

"There were forests extending over great districts; fens, forty or fifty "miles in length, reeking with miasma and fever, though round the walls "of the abbeys there might be beautiful gardens, green lawns, shady "walks, and many murmuring streams. . . . The peasant's cabin was "made of reeds or sticks, plastered over with mud. His fire was chim- "neyless—often it was made of peat. In the objects and manner of his "existence, he was but a step above the industrious beaver who was "building his dam in the adjacent stream. . . . Vermin in abundance in "the clothing and beds. The common food was peas, vetches, fern- "roots, and even the bark of trees. . . . The population, sparse as it was, "was perpetually thinned by pestilence and want. Nor was the state of

"the townsman better than that of the rustic; his bed was a bag of straw, with a fair round log for his pillow. . . . It was a melancholy social condition when nothing intervened between reed cabins in the fen, the miserable wigwams of villages, and the conspicuous walls of the castle and the monastery. . . Rural life had but little improved since the time of Cæsar; in its physical aspect it was altogether neglected. . . . England, at the close of the age of faith, had for long been a chief pecuniary tributary to Italy, the source from which large revenues had been drawn, the fruitful field in which herds of Italian ecclesiastics had been pastured. . . At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island was far more backward, intellectually and politically, than is commonly supposed."

We see, then, to what a condition the people of England were reduced under the Italian drain. India cannot but share the same fate under similar causes, unless England, as she sincerely means to do, adopts the necessary precautions and remedies to prevent such results.

Before I close the subject of the drain and its consequences, I direct your attention to a few facts connected with the subject of railways, and such other useful public works. You are well aware that I strongly desire these works, but I cannot shut my eyes to the following facts.

America, for instance, requires money to build a railway, takes a loan and builds it, and everybody knows it is immensely benefited. I need not read to you a chapter on political economy to show why it is so. I need only say, every man employed in the construction of that railway is an American; every farthing, therefore, that is spent out of the loan remains in the country. In the working of the railway, every man is an American; every farthing taken out of the produce of the country for its conveyance remains in the country; so, whatever impetus is given to the production of the country, and increase made in it, is fully enjoyed by the country paying, out of such increase in its capital and production, the interest of the loan, and in time the loan itself. Under such ordinary economical circumstances, a country derives great benefit from the help of loans from other countries. In India, in the construction of the railroad, a large amount of the loan goes towards the payment of Europeans, a portion of which, as I have explained before, goes out of the country. Then again, in the working of the railway, the same drawback, leaving therefore hardly any benefit at all to India itself, and the whole interest of the loan must also go out of the country. So our condition is a very anomalous one—like that of a child to which a fond parent gives a sweet, but to which, in its exhausted condition, the very sweet acts like a poison, and, as a *foreign substance*, by irritating the weak stomach, makes it throw out more, and causes great exhaustion. In India's present condition, the very sweets

of every other nation appear to act on it as poison. With this continuous and ever-increasing drain by innumerable channels, as our normal condition at present, the most well-intentioned acts of Government become disadvantageous. Sir Richard Temple clearly understands this phenomenon, as I have already shown; but, somehow or other, he seems to have now forgotten what he so clearly pointed out a score of years ago. Many a time, in discussing with English friends the question of the material drain generally, and the above remarks on railways, irrigation works, &c., I found it a very difficult task to convince. Fortunately, a great authority enunciates the fundamental principles very clearly and convincingly, and I give them below, hoping that an authority like that of the late Mr. Mill will, on economical principles especially, command attention.

I give a few short extracts from Mill's "Political Economy," Chapter V. :—

"Industry is limited by capital."

"To employ industry on the land is to apply capital to the land."

"Industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest."

"There can be no more industry than is supplied by materials to work up, and food to eat. Yet, in regard to a fact so evident, it was long continued to be believed that laws and governments, without creating capital, could create industry."

"While, on the one hand, industry is limited by capital, so on the other every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry, and this without assignable limit."

"A second fundamental theorem respecting capital relates to the source from which it is derived. It is the result of saving. All capital, and especially all addition to capital, is the result of saving."

"What supports and employs productive labour is the capital expended in setting it to work, and not the demand of purchasers for the produce of labour when completed. Demand for commodities is not demand for labour."

"The demand for commodities determines in what particular branch of production the labour and capital shall be employed. It determines the *direction* of labour, but not the more or less of the labour itself, or of the maintenance or payment of the labour. These depend on the amount of the capital or other funds directly devoted to the sustenance and remuneration of labour."

"This theorem—that to purchase produce is not to employ labour, that the demand for labour is constituted by the wages which precede the production, and not by the demand which may exist for the com-



"modities resulting from the production—is a proposition which greatly needs all the illustration it can receive. It is to common apprehension "a paradox."

These principles, applied to the particular case of India, amount to this: Poor India has not even to support its absolute want, even were the whole production employed in supporting labour. But as this is not the case,—as there must be some portion of the produce consumed unproductively in luxuries,—the share for the support of labour for reproduction becomes still more scanty; saving, and therefore addition to capital, being altogether out of the question. Moreover, not only is there no saving at the present rate of production, but there is actual continuous yearly abstraction from this scanty production. The result is an additional evil consequence in the capability of labour deteriorating continuously, for "industry is limited by capital"—so the candle burns at both ends,—capital going on diminishing on the one hand, and labour thereby becoming less capable, on the other, to reproduce as much as before. The last theorem of Mill is a clear answer to those who say that, because the railways open up a market for the commodities, the produce of the country *must* increase. I need only repeat that "demand for commodities is not demand for labour," and that "industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest."

If these principles are fairly borne in mind, and the element of the drain from India fairly considered, the gradual impoverishment of India, under the existing system of administration, will cease to appear a paradox.

#### THE MORAL DRAIN.

Beyond the positions of deputy-collectors or extra-commissioners, or similar subordinate positions in the Engineering, Medical, and all other services (with a very few somewhat better exceptions), all experience and knowledge of statesmanship, of administration or legislation, of high scientific or learned professions, are drained away to England, when the persons possessing them give up their service and retire to England.

The result, in Sir T. Munro's words, is this: "The consequence of the conquest of India by British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people."—(Life of Sir T. Munro, page 466, quoted in Mr. Torrens' "Empire in Asia.") For every European employed beyond absolute necessity, each Native capable of filling the same position is displaced in his own country. All the talent and nobility of intellect and soul which Nature gives to every country is to India a lost treasure. There is thus a triple evil—loss of wealth, wisdom, and work to India—under the present system of administration. Whether the power of education which the British rulers are raising, with the glorious object of

raising the people of India, and which is day by day increasing, shall be a bulwark or weakness hereafter to the British rule, is a question of great importance. As matters stand at present, in the words of Sir Bartle Frere—"And now, wherever I go, I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the Natives of India, among the ranks of the educated Natives." Of the future who can say? It lies in the hands of our rulers whether this power they are raising shall continue to be their "coadjutor," or become their opponent. The merit or fault will be entirely their own.

Sir J. Malcolm says: "We are not warranted by the history of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the Natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition. Least of all would such a system be compatible with the plans now in progress for spreading instruction. . . . If we do not use the knowledge which we impart, it will be employed against us. . . . We find in all communities bold, able, and ambitious individuals who exercise an influence and power over the class to which they belong, and these must continue enemies to a Government, however just and humane in its general principles, under which they are neither trusted nor employed. . . . High and aspiring men can find no spot beyond the limits of our authority, and such must either be systematically watched and repressed as enemies of our power, or cherished and encouraged as the instruments of its exercise; there is no medium. In the first place, the more decidedly we proceed to our object, the better for our safety; but I should, I confess, have little confidence in the success of such a proceeding. As one head of the hydra was lopped off, another would arise; and as well might we strive to stem the stream of the Ganges as to depress to the level of our ordinary rule the energies and hopes which must continually arise in so vast and various a population as that of India."\*

There can be but one conclusion to the present state of affairs—either the people will become debased, as Munro thinks; or dead to all true wisdom, experience, honour, and ambition to serve one's country; or use their knowledge of it against the very hand that gives it. As Sir J. Malcolm observes: "If these plans [of spreading instruction] are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements

\* Malcolm's "Government of India," p. 174.

“ that will hasten the destruction of our empire. The moral evil to us  
 “ does not thus stand alone ; it carries with it its Nemesis, the seeds  
 “ of the destruction of the empire itself.”

#### PRESSURE OF TAXATION.

In Lord Mayo's speech of the 3rd March, 1871 (*Times of India* Summary of April 8th, 1871), he endeavours to refute the assertion that Indian taxation is “crushing.” His lordship on this point has made several assumptions which require examination ; I shall therefore first consider whether the conclusion drawn is legitimate, and whether all necessary elements of comparison have been taken into account.

I have already shown that the production of India is hardly 40s. a-head, and that Lord Mayo has adopted that estimate as being based on good reasons by Mr. Grant Duff. After admitting this fact, Lord Mayo compares the taxation of India with that of some other countries. In doing this, he deducts as land-revenue (whether rightly or wrongly will be seen hereafter) the opium, tributes, and other small receipts from Indian taxation, and then compares the balance with the taxation of other countries. I do not know whether he has made similar deductions from the taxation of the latter. The result of his comparison would appear to be that, while India pays only 1s. 10d. per head of taxation per annum, Turkey pays 7s. 9d., Russia 12s. 2d., Spain 18s. 5d., Austria 19s. 7d., and Italy 17s. per head per annum. The conclusion drawn is that the taxation of India is not “crushing.” What idea his lordship attaches to the word “crushing” I cannot say, but he seems to forget the very first premise, that the total production of the country is admitted to be 40s. per head. Now, this amount is hardly enough for the bare necessities of life, much less can it supply any comforts, or provide any reserve for bad times ; so that, living from hand to mouth, and that on “scanty subsistence” (in the words of Lord Lawrence), the very touch of famine carries away hundreds of thousands. Is not this in itself as “crushing” to any people as it can possibly be ? And yet out of this wretched income they have to pay taxation !

His lordship has, moreover, left out a very important element from account. He is well aware that whatever revenue is raised by other countries—for instance, the 70,000,000*l.* by England—the whole of it returns back to the people, and remains in the country ; and, therefore, the *national capital*, upon which the production of a country depends, does not suffer diminution ; while with India, as I have already shown, the case is quite different. Out of its poor production of 40s. a-head, some 25,000,000*l.* go clean out of the country, thereby diminishing its capital and labour for reproduction every year, and rendering the taxation more and more crushing.

I shall now consider what would have been the fairest way of making the comparison of taxation. Every nation has a certain amount of income from various sources, such as production of cultivation, minerals, farming, manufactures, profits of trade, &c. From such total income all its wants are to be supplied. A fair comparison as to the incidence of taxation will be to see the proportion of the amount which the Government of the country takes for its administration, public debts, &c., to the total income. You may call this amount taxation, revenue, or anything you like, and Government may take it in any shape or way whatsoever; it is so much taken from the income of the country for the purposes of Government. In the case of India—whether Government takes this amount as land-tax or opium revenue, or in whatever other form, does not matter,—the fact remains, that out of the total income of the country Government raises so much revenue for its purposes which otherwise would have remained with the people.

Taking, therefore, this fair test of the incidence of taxation, the result will be that England raises 70,000,000*l.* out of the national income of some 800,000,000*l.*—that is, about 8 per cent., or about 2*l.* 10*s.* per head, from an income of about 30*l.* per head; whereas the Indian Government raises 50,000,000*l.* out of the national income of 340,000,000*l.*—that is, about 15 per cent., or 6*s.* per head, out of an income of 40*s.* per head.

Had his lordship stated the national income and population of the countries with which he has made the comparison, we would have then seen what the per-centage of their revenue to their income was, and from how much income per head the people have to pay their 7*s.* to 19*s.* 7*d.* per head of taxation, as quoted by his lordship.

Further, if, in consequence of a constant drain from India from its poor production, the income of the country continues to diminish, the per-centage of taxation to income will be still greater, even though the amount of taxation may not increase. But as we know the tendency of taxation in India has, during several years, been to go on increasing every year, the pressure will generally become more and more oppressive and crushing, unless our rulers, by proper means, restore India to at least a healthy, if not a wealthy, condition. It must, moreover, be particularly borne in mind that, while a ton may not be any burden to an elephant, a few pounds will crush a child; that the English nation may, from its average income of 30*l.* a-head, be able to pay 2*l.* 10*s.* per head, while to the Indian nation 6*s.* out of 40*s.* may be quite unbearable and crushing. The capacity to bear a burden with ease, or to be crushed by it, is not to be measured by the per-centage of taxation, but by the abundance or otherwise of the means or income to pay it

from. From abundance you may give a large per-centage with ease ; from sufficiency the same burden may just be bearable, or some diminution may make it so ; but from insufficiency any burden is so much privation.

But as matters stand, poor India has to pay not the same percentage of taxation to its income as in England, but nearly double ; i.e., while England pays only about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of its national income for the wants of its Government, India has to pay some 15 per cent. of its income for the same purpose ; though here that income per head of population is some thirteenth part of that of England, and insufficient in itself for even its ordinary wants, leaving alone the extraordinary political necessity to pay a foreign country for its rule.

Every single ounce of rice, therefore, taken from the "scanty subsistence" of the masses of India is to them so much starvation, so much more crushing.

Lord Mayo calls the light taxation of the country, which he calculates at 1s. 10d. a-head, as a happy state of affairs. But that, in so lightly-taxed a country, to get 6d. more per head without oppression should tax the highest statesmanship and intelligence without success, is in itself a clear demonstration that there must be something very rotten in the state of India, and that the pressure of taxation must have already arrived short of the proverbial last straw that breaks the camel's back.

The United Kingdom pay a total revenue of about 2*l.* 10s. per head. India's whole production is hardly 2*l.* a-head ; it pays a total revenue (less nett opium) of hardly 5s. a head, and is unable to pay a shilling more. Why so ? Short of only representation, India is governed on the same principles and system as the United Kingdom, and why such extraordinarily different results ? Why should one prosper and the other perish, though similarly governed ?

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI added, in concluding the reading of his paper : I take this opportunity of saying a few words about the recent telegram that Lord Salisbury had instructed the Indian Government to abolish the duties on cotton, as the matter is closely connected with the subject of my paper. The real object, says to-day's *Times of India*, is to "nip in the bud" the rising factories in India—the ostensible reason assigned is free trade. Now, I do not want to say anything about the real selfish objects of the Manchesterians, or what the political necessities of a Conservative Government may be under Manchester pressure. I give credit to the Secretary of State for honesty of purpose, and take the reason itself that is given on this question—viz., free trade. I like free trade, but after what I have said to-night, you will easily see

that free trade between England and India in a matter like this is something like a race between a starving, exhausting invalid and a strong man with a horse to ride on. Free trade between countries which have equal command over their own resources is one thing; but even then the Colonies snapped their fingers at all such talk. But what can India do? Before powerful English interests, India must and does go to the wall. Young colonies, says Mill, need protection. India needs it in a far larger degree, independent of the needs of revenue, which alone have compelled the retention of the present duties. Let India have its present drain brought within reasonable limits, and India will be quite prepared for any free trade. With a pressure of taxation nearly double in proportion to that of England, from an income of one-fifteenth, and an exhaustive drain besides, we are asked to compete with England in free trade. I pray our great statesmen to pause and consider these circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai for his able paper. He said that there could hardly be any difference in the vote of opinion as to the normal condition of this country being one of deplorable poverty. The best test, perhaps, of this was to be found in the comparatively scanty production of the country, when taken in connection with the productions of more civilized nations, in the depressed state of the great mass of the peasantry, and in the inability, on the part of the people generally, to bear taxation beyond a certain point. A noticeable fact brought out in Mr. Dadabhai's paper was the increasing drain of wealth from India to England. The recent disturbance in the exchange between India and England, and the fall in silver, would, he was afraid, tend still further to aggravate this drain—trade was languid, and the inducements for augmenting the exports from India to England were few. The practical question which Indian statesmen must sooner or later be called upon to face was, how best to adjust the financial equilibrium between the two countries. There were, he confessed, certain anomalous circumstances in the relations of India with England. Some of them were inseparable from a foreign rule, and must therefore continue. But barring all such circumstances, their endeavours should be confined to suggesting such remedies as would be calculated to neutralize more or less the force of this drain. Some of the practical remedies which suggested themselves to his mind were the improvement of the productive powers of the soil; the development of India's mineral resources; healthy growth of home manufacturing industry; and last, but not least, a representation of the people in the administration of the affairs of their country. The Govern-

ment of India were fully sensible of the advantages arising from these and similar measures, which conduced to the well-being of the people; and this Association would, in his opinion, be doing service by suggesting such measures to Government. The Local Funds revenue in this Presidency, for instance, was steadily increasing, and there had been a good surplus during the past few years; and he did not see why a portion of it might not be devoted to the establishment of agricultural farms and agricultural schools in the districts. There could not, he felt persuaded, be better means of advancing the original object of these funds.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI thanked the meeting in a few words, and the proceedings terminated.

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Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and  
promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests  
and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

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*A Privy Council for India.*

PAPER BY MAJOR EVANS BELL.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION ON WEDNESDAY,  
MAY 17, 1876.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Wednesday afternoon, May 17th, the subject for consideration being "A Privy Council for India," introduced in an address read by Major Evans Bell.

The Right Hon. Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY presided, and among those present were Prince Iskander Ahmed Khan, Mr. H. A. M. Butler-Johnstone, M.P., Major-General G. Burn, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Colonel P. Dods, Colonel C. M. E. Glasford, Major Pool, Major J. Andover Wood, Captain W. C. Palmer (Hon. Secretary of the East India Association), Rev. A. Tayler, Dr. A. Burn, Dr. C. Inglis, Mr. William Tayler, Mr. P. Pirie Gordon, Mr. W. S. Fitzwilliam, Mr. Bryce McMaster, Mr. R. C. Saunders, Mr. Robert H. Elliot, Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. Stewart E. Rolland, Mr. T. A. E. Miller, Mr. D. Oliver, Mr. C. D. Collet, Mr. W. F. Hale, Mr. Halsall, Mr. K. Nicholls, Dr. H. Harper, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Mr. R. U. Ahmed, Mr. W. F. Thornton, Mr. G. J. Holyoake, Mr. Mirza Peer Buksh, Mr. F. S. Turner, Mr. T. G. Bowles, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. J. M. Egshaw, Mr. R. B. Swinton, Mr. George Noble Taylor, Mr. R. Massey Seyer, Mr. F. H. Westmacott, Mr. P. C. Sen, Mr. N. N. Ghose, Mr. G. Sen, Mr. George Nundy, Mr. J. Seymour Keay, Mr. C. Jones, Mr. M. J. Walhouse, Mr. C. B. McLaren, &c.

The Noble CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said he felt it his duty to express his deep regret at information he had received



that day of the death of Colonel Meadows Taylor, whose connection with India had extended over so long a period, and who would be well known to all present as the author of many novels upon Indian subjects. His loss would be felt, he was sure, not only by the East India Association, but by a very large circle in India. The Chairman then, in a few apt words, introduced Major Evans Bell to deliver his address on "A Privy Council for India."

Major EVANS BELL read the following:—

The chief topic that I shall have the honour of submitting for your consideration this evening is one that will be to a great extent familiar to those who have taken part in the proceedings of this Association from its origin in 1867. The question of establishing some tribunal for the open discussion and decision of such points of dispute as arise from time to time among the allied and protected States and feudatory chieftainships of India, and also between these inferior principalities and the Imperial Power of Great Britain, was the subject of a paper by our lamented friend Mr. Prichard in January, 1870, and of a debate which, after adjournment, was continued on the 6th of May in that year. Mr. Tayler, also, on the 1st of May, 1873, gave us a very able and interesting address on "Publicity the Guaranty for Justice; or, The Silent Chamber at "Whitehall." The meeting was well attended; the expression of opinion by those who took part in the discussion which followed Mr. Tayler's paper was unanimous in favour of a political tribunal; the only doubtful matter, as it then appeared, was, how it could best be constituted. On that occasion Mr. Prichard produced a draft Bill for settling disputes and differences between Her Majesty's Government and the sovereign rulers or chieftains having heritable jurisdiction in India by means of a Commission of Arbitration, with an appeal to a Committee of the Indian Council, where the procedure was to be assimilated to that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The urgent need of some judicial process for hearing, giving redress, and deciding on claims between the Indian States and chieftainships and the Paramount Power, was repeatedly asserted in the Court of Directors and in the House of Commons by the late Colonel Sykes, and has been upheld by Sir Bartle Frere in the Viceroy's and in the Secretary of State's Council.

Twenty years ago, under the recent impression of the signal defeat of Government in the House of Commons on the 24th of June, 1856, when a Bill to settle the dignity of Nawab of Surat on Meer Jaffier Ali was read a third time and passed by a majority of 185, Her Majesty's Ministers in both Houses of Parliament admitted that a tribunal for settling political cases and interpreting treaties ought to be instituted.

On the 11th of July, 1856, Mr. Vernon Smith, afterwards Lord Lyveden, and the first President of this Association, in reply to Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who had been in charge of the Nawab of Surat Bill, observed :—

“It was proposed to refer the question to the Privy Council. He was of opinion that it would be useful to adopt that course, because the Judges of that Court were conversant with subjects of that kind. There certainly was a want of some tribunal to decide questions of this nature. The present was a question of the interpretation of a treaty made by the Executive Government of India with a foreign State, and the question was to what tribunal that interpretation could be referred.”\*

In the House of Lords on the 7th of July, 1856, the Earl of Ellenborough, who as Governor-General had given the original decision adverse to Meer Jaffier Ali, opposed the Bill, but said that, “considering the knowledge of Eastern habits and Indian law possessed by Mr. Pemberton Leigh and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, he should feel satisfied if the true construction of the treaty were submitted to that body. What he desired was to get the matter out of that House and out of Parliament. The Bill was a bad precedent. Already he knew of two or three similar cases, which were only awaiting the decision their Lordships might come to.”†

The Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords, but the shock to authority given by the debate and defeat in the House of Commons was sensibly felt; and under the influence of these feelings, heightened by the possibility of another contest, for Meer Jaffier Ali was well advised and powerfully befriended, a promise was made that the whole case should be laid before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and their judgment carried into effect. This promise could not be exactly fulfilled, for Meer Jaffier Ali having been advised to accept an offer which the Honourable Company deemed it prudent to make in the matter of the annual income alleged to have been secured by treaty, the only point left for submission to the Judicial Committee was the distribution of the previous Nawab's real and personal estate. The decision of the Privy Council was adverse to the claimant, and finally disposed of this part of his claim, the main question having been previously settled by a compromise. And thus a good proof and example were afforded that when the Government can make out a sufficient answer to one of these political appeals it need not fear to challenge the judgment of an impartial tribunal.

Meer Jaffier Ali, after fourteen years of persistent solicitation, in every quarter and in every form, including a good spell of Parliamentary

\* Hansard, vol. cxliii., p. 677.

† Hansard, vol. cxliii., p. 396.

agency, succeeded in securing an income for himself and his descendants; but surely he had good reason to complain of the enormous expenses and the inordinate delays and obstructions through which he had been compelled to toil.

Notwithstanding the demonstration in this instance of the unpleasant liabilities attendant on the Parliamentary agitation of such cases, and of the advantage of referring them for judicial settlement, and in spite of the Ministerial admissions in both Houses of Parliament that a suitable tribunal was wanted, the experience and the lesson were thrown away. The characteristic official unwillingness to part with any portion of executive power, the exigencies of Lord Dalhousie's viceregal career, then just brought to what appeared a brilliant and triumphant conclusion, all militated against any plan for exposing "acts of state" to judicial investigation. The specific incidents of Lord Dalhousie's annexation policy were not even susceptible of being safely submitted for the *ex parte* opinion of the law officers of Government, and, as a matter of fact, never were so submitted. The notion of allowing them to come under the comment of judges of high dignity and authority was, therefore, totally inadmissible. When by some special and unavoidable circumstances any of them did become the subject of judicial review the result was only too evident.

The Supreme Court of Madras having decided, in the suit brought by the Rancee of Tanjore against the East India Company, that the local Government had, in the words of the judgment, "unnecessarily and wilfully" sequestrated private property belonging to the lawful heir of the deceased Maharajah, valued at about 700,000*l.*, the case came in appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. On this occasion Lord Kingsdown (the Mr. Pemberton Leigh mentioned by Lord Ellenborough) pronounced that the extinction of the Tanjore Principality and confiscation of the family estate were "acts of state" with which no municipal court could interfere, but in delivering judgment he made use of the following emphatic words:—

"It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers any ground of legal right, "on the part of the East India Company or of the Crown of Great Britain, to the possession of this Raj, or of any part of the property of the Rajah on his death; "and indeed the seizure was denounced by the Attorney-General" (Sir Richard Bethell, afterwards Lord Westbury,) "as a most violent and unjustifiable measure. "The Rajah was an independent sovereign of territories undoubtedly minute, and "bound by treaties to a powerful neighbour, which left him, practically, little "power of free action; but he did not hold his territory, such as it was, as a "fief of the British Crown, or of the East India Company; nor does there appear "to have been any pretence for claiming it, on the death of the Rajah without a "son, by any legal title, either as an escheat or as *bona vacantia*."

Any system that could call forth such a denunciation as this, the moral weight of which compelled the Government to give up the Tanjore property, naturally seemed objectionable. Lord Ellenborough was right; several other claimants, perhaps encouraged by Meer Jaffier Ali's partial success, employed all the means in their power to obtain a hearing in London. Besides minor affairs, we had the alleged wrongs of Meer Ali Moorad, with a plentiful crop of scandals attached, brought before the House of Commons several times between 1852 and 1860. In 1857 the Ameer visited this country himself in order to promote the consideration of his case—one peculiarly suited for judicial inquiry—by the Court of Directors or by Parliament. Then from 1860 to 1865 the claims of Prince Azeem Jah to be Nawab of the Carnatic were six times discussed in the House of Commons; and, more recently still, in 1871 and 1872 there were two Parliamentary debates on the remonstrance by the Nawab of Tonk against his deposition and exile. In 1870, 1871, and 1872 a considerable number of members in the House of Commons made their protest—for in the face of an assured Ministerial majority it could be nothing more than a protest—against the threatened disinheritance of the family of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

But in all these Parliamentary proceedings no more was heard of the Ministerial admissions that an open tribunal was wanted. The temporary danger had blown over. The hackneyed maxims of executive power resumed their sway. It appeared better to bear the passing annoyance of these political cases being ineffectually discussed in Parliament, than to run the risk of their being fairly heard and seriously adjudicated.

In the matter of the Nawab of Tonk, three of the most eminent living jurists, Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. J. F. Leith, now M.P. for Aberdeen, certified that it was a case which Her Majesty's Government, if they thought fit, could refer for decision by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council.\* But Her Majesty's Government did not think fit; and they strenuously opposed the submission of the case for the opinion of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. In this extraordinary instance the Nawab of Tonk was deposed and banished, not only without a trial, but without being informed that there was any accusation against him, and his Minister, Surwur Shah, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a British fortress, on the strength of secret communications, without a trial, without an avowed charge, and without any opportunity of making a defence.

Yet Mr. Grant Duff, then Under-Secretary of State, warned the

\* Under the power given by 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 41, sect. 4.

House of Commons, in true official style, on February 23, 1872, that if it directed "the further investigation" of this matter, "it would strike a blow at authority," and that "the first result of so unfortunate a decision would be to give a terrible stimulus to the manufacture of sham grievances." Here the honourable gentleman, resorting to a very common rhetorical device, begs the whole question by quietly assuming that the case is a "sham grievance," and on that assumption, very inconsequently, deprecates a judicial inquiry. For surely, if the Nawab of Tonk's, or any other political appeal were nothing but a sham, an open judicial inquiry would only make its exposure more certain and more public, and the judgment of the Court, finally disposing of the case, would give a check rather than a stimulus to the manufacture of similar shams.

But what proof is there of any such sham grievances having ever been brought over to this country? In the course of my own observation and inquiry, which has been close and extended, I have never been able to hear of any. I have no right to expect perfect unanimity here this evening. We always invite and welcome discussion at our meetings. Should there be any gentleman present who agrees with Mr. Grant Duff, perhaps he will favour us with one or two instances of what he considers to have been "sham grievances" among the political appeals of the last twenty years.

It will hardly be denied by any one that there is a *prima facie* improbability in the notion that any Indian claimant would go to the great expense of an appeal in London unless he and his immediate advisers firmly believed in the rectitude of his demand. There may be persons who are interested in making a Prince or Chieftain spend his money; but the Prince himself and those most closely attached to his person must naturally be averse to its being spent very far from home, at the discretion or for the benefit of strangers. Who can compute the vast sums that must have been got rid of by Meer Jaffier Ali of Surat in his fourteen years of solicitation, or by Prince Azeem Jah of the Carnatic in the twelve years that elapsed before he accepted the compromise that was offered him by Government?

As another criterion to ascertain whether the more important among the political appeals of late years have had anything of sham or pretence in them, we may fairly adduce the recorded opinions of statesmen, judges, and jurists of high rank and great reputation. What was said in the Judicial Committee of Privy Council as to the Tanjore case we have already quoted. Unless we suppose that there was at least some foundation for the troublesome importunity of Prince Azeem Jah, we can with difficulty understand how a leading Conservative politician, Sir Fitzroy Kelly (now the Lord Chief Baron), supported by a hundred and

twenty members from both sides of the House, could have denounced his exclusion from the succession, and the confiscation of the Carnatic property, as "an act of rapine."\* And when we find the greatest living authority on civil and international law, Sir Travers Twiss, together with Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Lush and the Hon. J. B. Norton (Advocate-General of Madras), upholding, without doubt or exception, the claim of Prince Azeem Jah to the title and revenue of Nawab of the Carnatic, it is difficult for any one to set down that claim as a mere sham grievance.

But we have yet another test of the reality of these political appeals, and that is the substantial nature of the results on many occasions. Much money may have been expended; hope deferred for so many years may have made the heart sick; but the records having been dragged by Parliamentary interference from the recesses of the Secret and Political Department into the light of day, resistance became more difficult, and considerably more than would otherwise have been conceded was in several instances obtained from Government.

For example, although he had to wait for twelve years and could not get full redress and restitution, the Nawab Azeem Jah of the Carnatic gained a very fair equivalent for all his outlay and suspense. The title of Prince of Arcot was devised expressly for him, causing, it is understood, fearful qualms and questionings in the *Heralds' College*, for there was positively no precedent in the annals of the British Empire for the creation of a Prince by patent. Instead of 15,000*l.* a-year as a mere life pension, he got 30,000*l.* a-year, with a permanent endowment for his descendants, a grant of 150,000*l.* to pay his debts, and, furthermore, a loan of 120,000*l.* on easy terms.

In the face of such advantageous results in certain conspicuous instances, those who have suffered will hardly be persuaded by any amount of ridicule or intimidation from trying an appeal to Parliament. In the face of the authoritative condemnation, and the consequent moral and partially material reversal, of so many of these acts of state, the British Parliament will hardly be persuaded to abjure its high duties of supervision and review, until or unless it may think fit to delegate them to some Court or Committee of its own appointment or selection. A tribunal is wanted; and until that want is supplied these unsuitable questions will come before Parliament. It is useless to deprecate their discussion; even when redress is beyond hope, they will obtain a hearing, and the less chance there seems of that hearing being fair and effective, the more intemperate will the language of controversy tend to be, the more embittered will be the contest on both sides. There is everything, on the other

\* As he did on the 14th of March, 1865.

hand, in the forms of procedure and in the ultimate object of a real tribunal to induce and insure moderation, both in the substance of claims put before it and in the arguments and language by which those claims are recommended or disputed. The advocate's task is that of persuasion ; the prospect of success is before him, and he knows that this cannot be advanced, and may be seriously impeded, by extravagant demands or by violent declamation. The over-strained invective of the popular agitator and the evasive sneer of the official apologist would be equally inappropriate and ineffectual before competent judges ; but before an assembly where an Indian subject is too often of very small interest, where not one of those who are called upon to pronounce on the case is bound to listen to the arguments on either side, where it is not unfrequently known that no practical result can follow, that the question will not, in fact, be considered at all ; but that a pre-arranged majority, who have heard nothing but the crack of the whip, will flock in at the proper moment to overwhelm the little band who have thought for themselves, how can the gallant leader of such a forlorn hope avoid a tone of indignation ? As it is utterly useless to invoke an impartial judgment, or to aim at anything more than placing an emphatic protest on record, the protest naturally tends to become a little too emphatic. But, however emphatic, however intemperate the language of the protest may be, every word of it is sure to be transmitted to India, with the news, in all probability, that although made of no avail for the time being by the numerical strength of the Government and their supporters, it was endorsed by a hundred or more votes of independent members. Nor will the encouraging suggestion be wanting that by means of some new combination, or as the result of a Ministerial change, a more favourable decision may be obtained on a future occasion.

An adverse decision in either House of Parliament does not, in short, dispose of the claim, or silence the claimant. In certain cases it may animate him with renewed hope, and furnish him, at least in fancy, with fresh means of agitation. In fact, a debate in Parliament on an Indian political case of minor importance can seldom produce any effect but that of rousing bad blood by an utterly irrelevant exposure of what may appear most odious or discreditable in the action or antecedents of all concerned. The opposing parties and their attorneys are heartily abused ; the merits of the question remain almost untouched. The Parliamentary agitation of a case of this nature tends almost invariably to become an ill-advised, ill-conducted, and wasteful affair,—causing a vast expenditure of time, energy, temper, and money for a disproportionately small result.

And yet while a fair and regular hearing in matters most deeply affecting their honour, their interests, their very existence, is refused to

the most influential persons and families in India, the very defects and blemishes of the unsatisfactory process left open to them have constantly been thrown in the teeth of an appellant, employed to discredit his cause, and even to blacken the character of himself, his agents and advocates. Let us take the case of Prince Azeem Jah, *de jure* Nawab of the Carnatic, endeavouring to save his family from spoliation, from the extinction of their rank and the loss of their income. In order to drag the records from the arcana of the Secret and Political Department, in order to obtain some information for himself as to the grounds of his disinheritance, the only plan available was the ventilation of the case in Parliament. The papers were called for; between 1860 and 1865 the affairs of the Carnatic were six times brought before the House of Commons, and a hundred and twenty members voted in favour of inquiry by a Select Committee. But it would be utterly useless for the agent of an Indian Prince to rely entirely upon the spontaneous and unassisted efforts of any number of members of Parliament. Even those who are known to take a special interest in Indian affairs, and have leisure to attend to them, must be sought out, supplied with information by some one, and helped by arrangements known only to the initiated to secure the attendance and support of a certain number of members. All this preliminary work is done by a firm of Parliamentary Agents. Assuredly neither Prince Azeem Jah nor the Madras Hindu gentleman who acted for him in London had anything to do with devising the complicated and costly apparatus called a Parliamentary Agency. It would be very difficult to make an Oriental, or a foreigner of any country, understand the various political and social appliances by which it works. Whether good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate, this machinery was and is indispensable. Among the ordinary tactics of Parliamentary Agency a certain display of petitions is generally considered advisable, to serve as the theme for a question or the introduction to a speech, and to give body, as it were, to the assertion of a grievance. When, however, in the Session of 1864, some of the signatures to ten or twelve petitions out of about sixty presented to the House of Commons in favour of Prince Azeem Jah's claims, were found to have been obtained in what seemed to be an irregular and improper manner, the carelessness or misconduct of some person employed by a Parliamentary Agent was made the text for disparaging and ridiculing the Prince's cause, and for talking of this unfortunate Prince, who had never been within 5,000 miles of Whitehall, as if he were an impostor, an intriguer, and a corruptionist.\* It was hard enough that any

\* On the whole, I was assured at the time, the bulk of the petitions were honest and genuine. One objection, founded on a fact which came out in evidence before the Committee, and which was made the most of, is very insignificant when fairly



one should be compelled to resort, as principal or attorney, to such a costly, complicated, and inconclusive process to get a hearing for a purely judicial matter, without his being taunted with what ought really to have been a reproach against our institutions.

One class of scandalous malpractice connected with Indian political cases was mentioned with just indignation, but without the practical suggestion we might have expected, by our late President, Lord Lyveden, at one of our earliest meetings, on the 2nd of May, 1867. Forgetting his official acknowledgment in Parliament eleven years previously that a tribunal was wanted, he could place no reliance on any means for baffling imposture, corruption, and intrigue more efficacious than the existence of this Association.

“He would take the case of Native Princes who had claims upon this country, and who looked to ready assistance being given them by the Government. When he was on the Indian Board those Princes were continually coming over, and were constantly falling into bad hands. Some active agent or an attorney got hold of them, and promised to forward their claims. Often, in fact, they submitted their case to the first person who offered himself, who might, for aught they knew, be an impostor, and who oftentimes readily got over them. He remembered one of the Native Princes, who was not assisted by the Government, telling him of his position on one occasion. He learned from the Prince that he had employed an attorney who was constantly drawing money from him, and telling him that his suit was making rapid progress; and once the attorney actually assured him that he had dined with Prince Albert and the Queen, and that they would very soon take up his cause, and that it would readily be promoted. This sort of thing would be avoided by the establishment of their Association.”

It is perfectly true that Indian suitors in London, who have not been well advised before leaving their own country, are liable to be beset by improper and incompetent agency, and even by agency that only endeavours to impede, to intimidate, and to extort money; but yielding to no one in my belief in the value and utility of this Association, I am at a loss to understand how its establishment and its work can provide a sufficient remedy for the delinquencies denounced by Lord Lyveden. I am sure that everything that was judicious and benevolent in the way of guidance, information, and warning would be given by our able and indefatigable Honorary Secretary, or by those members of our Council who take the most active part in our proceedings, in the event of the most humble or the most exalted visitor from India seeking for advice at our office; but unless the grievance or claim of such a person were one

examined. It was said that a number of signatures had been obtained at a penny each. Somebody must collect signatures in each locality. It is quite obvious that a man or boy would not walk across the street to get a signature attached to a petition unless he were paid for his trouble, and a penny each would not, perhaps, be a very exorbitant charge.

of transparent simplicity, it might be no easy matter to point out the best course for him to pursue. There are few cases that can be at once pronounced utterly hopeless—there are few in which there is a high probability of success ; the only certainty in such matters is the certainty of delay and expense. But the practical results of many political cases in the last twenty years will prove what a heavy responsibility must be incurred by any one who should either send an Indian appellant to a solicitor or competent agent, or advise him to return home without making an effort. And if any one of our body should take upon himself to give advice, this way or that, in such affairs, I think he should give it on his own personal responsibility, and not stake the credit of this Association on the ultimate loss or gain. We must not, I fear, flatter ourselves that we have done, or that we can do, all that Lord Lyveden expected of us. It is quite useless to tell a man who has a strong case that he ought to avoid agitators and adventurers, unless you can tell him how and where he can seek redress. So long as no open hearing for Indian political cases can be obtained except through Parliamentary agency, supplemented by private and personal solicitation, so long there will be the possibility of abuses more or less flagrant, so long will scandals be spread abroad, more or less well-founded, but always discreditable, and prejudicial ultimately, to the Imperial Power of Great Britain. For I can by no means admit that such abuses as may from time to time have been proved to exist, or such scandals as may have occasionally prevailed, have always been laid, or ought to be laid, to the sole charge of the political appellants and their supporters, and never to that of Government and its functionaries. The executive authorities have been tarnished with a full share—to say the least—of all the bad stories regarding *khutput*, back-stairs influence, unscrupulous and oppressive devices to silence and baffle opposition, that have gained currency here and in India. It matters not, for the validity of my argument, whether the Government or its officers have deserved any of the obloquy they have incurred. All that I need point out is that these bad stories are sure to arise while business is conducted in the dark. They perish in the light of day, but in the secrecy of the present system they will never cease to flourish. Nor can I admit that those who have been officially stigmatized as agitators and grievance-mongers have done unmixed harm and mischief. On the contrary, I believe they have frequently done good, have brought information to Government and to the public that would never have been obtained from official sources, and have given a wholesome check to the arrogance of routine. But to those who look with distrust and dislike on these irregular and officious operations, let me suggest that they can only be superseded by the intro-

duction of a recognized and authorized procedure. On the establishment of a tribunal, the agitator and grievance-monger—if such a monster really exists—must disappear. His occupation will be gone; and his place will be taken by those unexceptionable substitutes, the solicitor and the barrister.

We have to meet the most varied and contradictory objections to the establishment of a political tribunal, and some of these demand a passing notice.

It is said, for example, that any matter of real importance affecting the existence or the rights of an allied State, involving the faith of solemn treaties, the interests and honour of the Empire, would be thoroughly and carefully considered in Parliament, but that the House of Commons is an unfit arena for the discussion of issues of fact and law, which depend upon evidence and demand judicial qualifications for their settlement. I am not inclined to dispute that opinion. Some reasons for leaning towards it have been given this evening. But at present there is no other arena for such discussion, or for any public protest against what are called “acts of state,” even when they are obviously questions of a judicial nature which have been most unjudicially treated.

Nor would it be by any means easy, even were it just or politic, to exclude certain political cases from supervision and review, because they only affected the titular dignity and income of some particular family, and did not, therefore, seem to be of Imperial consequence. Personal and family interests will seem less narrow when we consider that many an Indian Prince or Chieftain who may at first sight appear no great personage is looked up to by some more or less extensive community, distinct in tribe or creed, and by no means confined to his own locality, as their natural representative, their hereditary *decus et tutamen*. The importance of a political case may in some instances depend upon the position of the parties, and in others upon the principles at stake. But, in truth, whoever may be the arbiters appointed for a particular class of cases, they should be prepared to take up every one of that class, irrespective of its apparent magnitude or supposed public interest. Those are no matters for the consideration of a judge.

But we now encounter the sweeping objection that the political cases and acts of state of India must not be made liable either to public censure in Parliament or to the cognizance of any judicial court. Mr. Grant Duff, as we have just seen, declared that if the House of Commons ordered any further investigation into the circumstances under which the Nawab of Tonk was deposed and his Minister imprisoned, it would “strike a blow at authority.” On the same occasion Mr. Lowe

deprecatcd inquiry, because, he said, "the whole force and strength of "our government in India consisted in the respect and veneration in "which the head of the Government there was held. The people of "India looked upon the Governor-General as a sort of divinity upon "earth. If this mighty potentate was to be judged, not upon principles "of political expediency, but by the narrow and technical rules of a "judicial tribunal, in what estimation would he be held?" Such doctrine cannot be too firmly rejected. The too frequently heard official demand of despotic and indisputable power for the Indian Executive must not be entertained or tolerated here. It is a demand totally opposed to sound political science, and especially opposed to the principles and conditions by which our supremacy in India was won and may still be justified. The moral superiority of British rule over that which it superseded consists in its being a rule of law, and not a rule of self-will and caprice. This principle, which now prevails in our ordinary administration, must be made applicable to the extraordinary and higher branch of executive action. It would be a retrograde step to disturb or dispel the best lesson Great Britain has ever taught—the noble lesson of the rule of law, now rapidly finding acceptance throughout the Indian continent, in the protected States, as well as in our provinces. The people of India know perfectly well that the Governor-General is by no means "a sort of "divinity on earth," able to cut off heads and confiscate property at will, like the Nawabs and Rajahs of days gone by; but that notwithstanding his exalted rank and the vast power placed in his hands, he is the creature of law and a servant of the public. Mr. Lowe cannot conjure up "the "sort of divinity" he wants. Many illusions regarding us and our ways have disappeared in the last century, and our hold on the supremacy of India must be weak indeed if we are not stronger for their disappearance. Familiarity with what is worthy of honour and respect does not breed contempt. Even were it possible to revive past illusions, the Viceroy will be held in higher estimation by the people of India as the votary of law and justice than as that despotic demigod before whom Mr. Lowe imagines them to grovel.

It has, however, been argued that the proceedings of our Indian Government, affecting the protected and tributary States, are essentially acts of supreme sovereignty, similar to the declaration and prosecution of war, and cannot, therefore, be in any way brought under the rule of law, or made subject to judicial interference, any more than the dealings of the British Government with foreign States in other parts of the world. But the analogy suggested is altogether a false one.

The States of India, notwithstanding the erroneous retention up to this time of the term "foreign," as representing their relations with the

British Empire, and as the title of the official department in which their intercourse with our Government is conducted, are not in any sense of the word foreign States, and their connection with us has only a very partial and imperfect affinity to our connection with even the weakest State in Europe or America. The smallest States out of India with which we have treaties are independent, and possess the unquestioned right of making war by land or sea. The most important States of India can only claim to be independent in their internal administration. By their treaties with our Government they have renounced the right of making war, and of holding any correspondence with other States. Any differences they may have among themselves must be settled by our arbitration. Any necessary communication between two States, and the complimentary or friendly interchange of letters or visits between two Princes, can only be carried on with the knowledge and approval of the British representative. The application of the term "foreign" to the States of India must appear peculiarly inappropriate when we consider that their political sphere is confined, by solemn compact, within the limits of India, and even within those limits is controlled by British mediation. With reference as much to acknowledged supremacy as to overwhelming power, any military operations undertaken against a Native State by the Indian Government would be more properly designated Imperial coercion or execution than war; while an aggressive war or serious conflict with a British force upon which any Native State should venture, would bear much resemblance to rebellion, and would certainly be regarded and treated as such by the Paramount Power of India.

War, properly so called, between a Native State and the Government of India being thus precluded entirely, what pretext of policy, what moral excuse, can there be for a refusal to permit a fair hearing and deliberate judgment in matters of dispute between the Imperial Power and the protected Princes and States? At present there is no provision for cases of this nature being fairly heard at all.

Surely it is impossible to defend the existing system under which our Government, being directly interested in some pecuniary demand from or against a protected or tributary State—a mere matter of accounts, or of the interpretation of a contract—acts, by a secret and arbitrary process, as judge in its own cause, and, after pronouncing in its own favour, enforces the decree by menaces or military occupation.

It must be borne in mind that several remarkable political cases within our memory, that may now seem to belong to the lofty region of Imperial predominance, quite unfit for subjection to judicial scrutiny, were originally mere pecuniary affairs, and became of critical consequence only

because our Government would not give them a fair hearing, but chose to pronounce a decree for its own immediate advantage in secret executive session, and to carry it out by force. I will mention one case, the details and progress of which came to a considerable extent under my own observation.

Twenty-four years ago I was induced to alter my plans and return from home to India, mainly by the extreme probability, as it was represented to me, of my regiment, then stationed at Hyderabad, in the Deccan, being engaged in active service. As it proved, we had no active service about there in 1852 or 1853; but all who were at the cantonment of Secunderabad in those days must remember very well the rumours that prevailed, and the state of expectation and excitement in which we lived for some time. Thanks to the tact and diplomatic skill of Colonel (now General Sir John) Low, the Resident, and to the good sense, patience, and prudence of the Hyderabad Court, the crisis was got over without any collision or any resistance to the mandate of our Government, which was, nevertheless, most repugnant to the Nizam's feelings and wishes, which he opposed as long as he could, and to which he only submitted at last, in the words of Colonel Davidson, then Assistant (afterwards Resident) at Hyderabad, under the influence of "objurgations and threats."\* That mandate was that he should resign the administration of some of his richest provinces into the hands of our officers, in order to provide for the regular payment of a force—the Hyderabad Contingent, previously called the Nizam's Army—which he had been erroneously told by Lord Dalhousie he was bound by treaty to maintain, and for the liquidation of a debt always disputed by him, and officially, though not authoritatively, acknowledged since not to have been owing. "I have always been of opinion," wrote Colonel Davidson, then Resident at Hyderabad, in 1860, to our Government, "that had "the pecuniary demands of the two Governments been impartially dealt with, we had no just claim against the Nizam." "In "1853," he repeats, "we had little or no claim against the Nizam."† In 1853 there was, in fact, a disputed balance-sheet. The balance of 430,000*l.* which was demanded was made out by debiting the Nizam with cash payments from our Treasury for the Hyderabad Contingent, while refusing to credit him with sums due to him by our Government on other accounts. Interest, first at 12 and afterwards at 6 per cent., on all our advances, formed nearly a quarter of the claim. The principal of the Nizam's counter-claim, without any calculation of interest, was more than the whole charge against him. But no set-off,

\* Papers, "The Deccan" (338 of 1867), p. 26.

† Papers, "The Deccan" (338 of 1867), pp. 27, 28.

or inquiry as to a set-off, was tolerated by Lord Dalhousie's Administration; though subsequently, under Lord Canning's Government, the chief item—the *abkaree*, or excise collections of Secunderabad and Jaulnah—"was prospectively allowed to be a portion of the legitimate revenue of the Hyderabad State."\*

No plea of set-off was listened to, and a distress was put in, embittered by terms of menace and insult. Lord Dalhousie, in the process of enforcing this most questionable pecuniary claim—most questionable even if the Nizam's large counter-claims were excluded—had written personally to the Nizam, telling him that the Hyderabad State was bound to maintain the Contingent "by the stipulations of existing treaties;" reminding him that it was dangerous "to provoke the resentment of the British Government," "whose power can crush you at its will,"† and warning him that "the independence of his sovereignty" stood in "imminent danger." In the same letter the Nizam was advised, as an indispensable measure of economy, to disband "the Arab soldiery," those "turbulent mercenaries" who consumed so large a portion of his revenues, and to rouse himself to make a great effort for "the early liquidation of the accumulated debt." If the Nizam were unable to meet the call on his treasury, he must "forthwith make over" to the British Government certain frontier districts of his territory enumerated in a schedule annexed to this letter.‡

It was a ready money question entirely. In 1851, when the unpleasant letter from which I have quoted was addressed to him, the Nizam staved off the difficulty by paying a large sum on account. If he had produced the cash that was demanded in 1853, when similar pressure was applied, he would have avoided the sequestration of his districts. But his resources and his credit were exhausted, and the Governor-General would wait no longer. The Nizam's vain endeavours to gain time were cut short by an intimation that unless he at once consented to sign the new treaty, orders would be given for the advance of British troops, not merely into the districts that were wanted, but also into his capital. Then the Nizam and his advisers saw that he had before him the choice of signing the treaty or being dethroned. They understood perfectly, if every one else was ignorant of it—which is not likely—that it must come to that. The Nizam's Government was not as strong in 1853, nor was Hyderabad as orderly, as they have become during the twenty years' administration of the

\* Papers, "The Deccan" (338 of 1867), p. 27.

† The Persian words "*pāemāl kardan*" that were used in the letter, mean "trample into dust."

‡ Papers, "Nizam's Debts" (418 of 1854), pp. 40, 43.

Nawab Salar Jung. Without counting the armed men in a fortified city of 200,000 inhabitants, where almost every man was armed, Hyderabad was full of those "turbulent mercenaries"—a class very much over-abused—whom our Government, as they, of course, were well aware, was urging the Nizam to disband. They knew that military occupation meant not only the loss of their bread, but the loss of their hard-earned savings. For the Arab soldiery—steady, sober men, whose great characteristics were faithfulness and thrift—were the greatest money-lenders in Hyderabad, and after their expulsion by British power they would obviously have had great difficulty in collecting their little accounts, or realizing their securities. Their leaders, the managers of their men's investments, would certainly have taken every advantage of Mussulman fanaticism and general excitement to have one last despairing struggle before they submitted to the loss of their homes, and of all that they possessed. Although the city could not have resisted a British force for six hours, it would not have been occupied without a contest. But the first shot fired from the walls, the first drop of blood shed, would in those days, so far as we can argue from the general tone and temper of Lord Dalhousie's administration, have cost the Nizam his throne. It would certainly have been worse than useless for him to plead that he could not control the unruly rabble of his capital. If, as might easily have been the case, a great number of the combatants had been proved to be in his own pay, his conduct would have been stigmatized as gross and infamous treachery. It would have gone hard with him.

We have seen Lord Dalhousie representing to the Nizam that the Hyderabad State was bound to maintain the Contingent "by the stipulations of existing treaties," and I have said that this representation was erroneous. That it was so I shall prove from Lord Dalhousie's own mouth, and this will afford a very striking illustration of the iniquitous manner in which the actual system of secret correspondence and consultation affects the weaker party. In 1851 the Governor-General insists that "the efficient maintenance of the Force is a duty imposed on the Government of Hyderabad by the stipulations of existing treaties;" and again, that it is "necessary to fulfil the obligations of treaties."\* In 1853—having in the meanwhile, we may suppose, examined more carefully the documents bearing on the case—he arrived at a very different result. "I have found myself forced," he says, "to the conclusion that the Government of India has no right whatever, either by the spirit or by the letter of the Treaty of 1800, to require the Nizam to maintain the Contingent in its present form." And again,

\* Papers, "Nizam's Debts" (418 of 1854), p. 41.



in the same Minute he says: "I, for my part, can never consent, as an honest man, to instruct the Resident to reply, that the Contingent has been maintained by the Nizam, from the end of the war in 1817 till now, because the Treaty of 1800 obliges his Highness so to maintain it." "Neither the words nor the intention of the Treaty can be held to warrant such a construction of its obligations." In another passage he admits that the Contingent "exists only by sufferance." \*

But although Lord Dalhousie felt himself called upon, "as an honest man," to place this altered opinion on record in the secret conclave of Calcutta, he did not feel himself called upon, "as an honest man," to give any intimation of his modified views to the Nizam at Hyderabad. In the course of the renewed pressure of 1853, the bold assertions and threatening language of 1851 were allowed to operate unchanged.

There can be no doubt that it was only under the influence of intimidation, produced by the announcement that military coercion, with all its manifest consequences, was imminent, that the Nizam consented to sign the Treaty of 1853. Without pronouncing upon the merits of any one of the issues raised,—as to the origin of the principal debt, or as to the reality of the set-off,—there can hardly be any difference of opinion as to the comparative dignity and equity of the two methods for settling and deciding those issues—that which actually was, and that which might have been, and ought to have been, employed.

A tribunal of high dignity, recognized by both parties, would have heard them both, would have compared and adjusted both sides of the account, and would have struck a balance without expressing irritation or rousing animosity. Our secret Executive only looked at its own side of the books—insisted on payment in full, and, in default thereof, exacted a sequestration of territory in the most offensive style, and turned a question of debt into one of invasion and dethronement. And I ask, whether that was a just, a generous, or a decent proceeding against a submissive and faithful ally?

The very fact of the Indian States not pretending to that absolute independence and equal standing assumed by the smallest and weakest States in other parts of the world, ought surely to facilitate and simplify the submission of their claims and differences to the verdict of competent judges,—the constitution of the Court, and the exclusion of such cases as might appear unsuitable for its decision, being in the hands of the Imperial Power.

Giving our Government credit for perfect good faith, if the tribunal were once established, I believe that very few cases proposed for refer-

\* Papers, "Nizam's Debts" (418 of 1854), pp. 100, 103, 111.

ence would be found unsuitable for judicial decision. By this I do not mean that there would be no cases of a character very different from those that come before a municipal court. There might be occasions on which the tribunal would act almost as a court of honour, and pronounce upon questions which a court of law would declare to be of a sentimental nature, and unfit for legal consideration. But, on the whole, if we look back to the long list of political cases which, either from an appeal having been made to the Home authorities or, from other causes, have become topics of public discussion, we shall find that they are in general closely analogous, as to their substance and as to the measures of redress or settlement required, to ordinary suits at law or equity. Cases of disputed inheritance, boundary disputes, claims for damages or compensation, questions as to the respective rights of suzerain Princes and vassal nobles, all these can be more properly disposed of by well-qualified judges, after hearing all concerned, than by a secret conclave of executive functionaries, who may choose to frame a curt and peremptory decree on what is a more or less *ex parte* statement, without fully hearing, almost without noticing, the case of the other side. A tribunal would at once distinguish the true issues, and dispose of any case within a moderate space of time. Under the actual system, the case never being properly heard, is never properly settled, and is perpetually liable to reappear in some form or another, with more or less of latent exasperation,—until we can well imagine that on the weaker side nothing can be seen but tyranny, and on the stronger side hardly anything but treason. And when once an Indian Prince, well-intentioned and otherwise well-disposed, it may be, and even, perhaps, with right on his side—no extravagant supposition—has become contumacious beyond a certain point, and when once the Supreme Government of India has committed itself up to a certain pitch of obduracy, no road for advance is open but that of coercion, no means of retreat but by submission to the will of the strongest.

In these days, and in the present condition of India, the continued neglect of rational and peaceful methods, and reliance on threats or violence, are unworthy of a great Imperial Power, possessing an unquestioned supremacy over numerous allied States, and exercising, under solemn compacts with each of them, the right and duty of general arbitration.

The supreme force of the Indian Empire is embodied, beyond dispute or doubt, in the British Crown, whose ultimate jurisdiction is acknowledged by the constituent States and by the community at large; but even in judicial matters, even in matters which may affect the revenue of the constituent States, the income or property of Princes or Chieftains,

the personal interests or credit of public officers, the highest Imperial jurisdiction is exercised without any of the ordinary guaranties for enlightened or impartial judgment. The whole business of the miscalled Foreign Department is conducted by secret correspondence,—the reports at every stage, which stand for pleadings and evidence, and the final decree, being all the private and confidential work of officials who are not judicially trained, and who are not specially qualified, either by their position, their pursuits, or their prospects, to take a disinterested view. There is no certainty, according to the present routine, that our Government ever has the whole case before it; there is no probability that the Indian Prince or State is furnished with full information as to the grounds of complaint or controversy.

And thus it has come to pass that although in India the supremacy of Great Britain is universally regarded as the best safeguard of peace, order, and progress, and although all are prepared to respect the Imperial fiat, many particular awards and measures of the Supreme Government have become the rightful objects of general reprobation, and have given irresistible cause for just and lasting resentment. If time would permit now, or if any one should venture to contradict my allegations, and you should have patience to hear a reply, there are political cases of comparatively recent date, still open to reparation, that positively bristle with blunders as to facts, dates, and circumstances, proved or disproved by recorded testimony.

No observant person can be blind to the prospect before us of a progressive increase in the number of political complications in India, and of appeals to the Home authorities from Princes and Chieftains. The enhanced facilities for locomotion throughout the Peninsula, and for communication with Europe, and the more general employment of highly-educated Indians, have let in a flood of light upon the Native States, and have rendered it more and more difficult to stifle inquiry or to silence remonstrances. The whole course of events ever since the great crisis of 1857, down to the visit of the Prince of Wales, with its many gracious and gratifying incidents, has raised the self-respect of the Indian Princes, and has made them feel a sense of greater security. At the same time, they cannot fail to perceive and to understand that their improved position has been due, from the first till now, to the policy and compulsion of the Home authorities, and not to any sudden conversion of the Vice-regal Foreign Department and its functionaries. They know, for example, that the two most notable reversals of annexation, the maintenance of the Mysore State and the restoration of Dhar, were carried out by Her Majesty's Ministry in spite of the strenuous and persistent opposition of the Governor-General in Council. They

feel themselves more safe now than they ever were before, so long as they are convinced that the Imperial Government is watching over them, but they have had little or no reason to acquire greater confidence in the kindness and candid consideration of the Department with which they are in immediate contact. The old supercilious domination, the secret and arbitrary conduct of business, as of old, still prevail; the only change is that the Princes have learned to chafe under them. They have outgrown the present system; it will not work smoothly much longer. The absence of any visible and conclusive process, the consciousness of one's case not having been answered, are strong provocatives to contumacy and passive resistance. Until an open tribunal is established, there will be no safety-valve or self-adjusting appliance to prevent a dead-lock from occurring at any time—a dead-lock that could only be broken through by sheer force of arms.

To maintain a moral as well as a martial supremacy, to elevate the standard of executive procedure in accordance with the requirements of the age, the Foreign must be transformed into the Federal Department, and there must be a judicial check over all acts of state that are beyond the control of the ordinary courts. The question is, where this check is to be placed, and how it is to be exercised.

Whenever the subject has hitherto been discussed there has been a very general declaration that if provision can be made for a fair hearing and for the delivery of a judgment on the merits according to the evidence in such cases as are referred for consideration, the designation and constitution of the Court,—whether it is to be a Committee of the Privy Council, or of the Indian Council, or, as recommended by Mr. McCullagh Torrens and Mr. E. B. Eastwick, a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament,—are matters of secondary importance.

Although distinctly desirous that a strong legal element should prevail, I should place much more reliance on the influence of free advocacy and open judgments than on the presence of transcendent judicial ability in any tribunal that may be established. It is the Bar that makes the Bench, and that keeps it up to the mark. The necessity of confronting public inspection and criticism, especially that of experts, is one of the most salutary incentives to patience, caution, and care in forming and promulgating a judgment.

My own preference is for the old constitutional authority of Her Majesty's Privy Council, not by merely resorting to the Judicial Committee, but by an extension on the old lines, and in conformity with historical precedents, of the functions of that august body. There is a great want, quite recently acknowledged, as we shall see, by those who

have some right to speak, of more potent consultative assistance for the Imperial Executive at both ends of the Suez Canal, in London and in Calcutta. Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State are at present induced, by a certain want of weight in their respective Councils, to rely much more on their own autocratic power than can always be prudent or safe, or good for the public interests. Hear what was said a few days ago by one who has been Secretary of State for India. On the 31st of March last the Duke of Argyll begged the House of Lords "to remember what was the power of the Secretary of State for India. No other Minister in the country exercised a tenth part of the power which could be exercised by the Secretary of State for India. That Secretary held in his own hands all the powers which formerly were vested in the Court of Directors and in the Board of Control, acting through the Secret Committee. That was, he held in his own hands the entire power of the Imperial Government of India. The only direct check which existed on that power was that he could not give money grants out of the revenues of India without the assent of a majority of the Council. But the Secretary of State might, of his own act, and without the assent of any one, order wars to be undertaken, and might direct measures which would involve an expenditure of millions and lead to great financial embarrassment. The only other check was the Imperial Cabinet; but it was impossible for the other members of the Cabinet, engaged as they were with heavy business in their own departments, to exercise any real control in respect of the government of India, except in very rare cases, especially if the Secretary of State for India happened to be a man, like his noble friend opposite, of great ability and great resolution. He asserted, then, that practically the only check was the responsibility of the Minister to Parliament."

And we have similar testimony of about the same date, with reference both to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, from Sir George Campbell, M.P., late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who has been a Member of the Viceroy's Council and also of the Council of India. In the *Fortnightly Review* for May he says:—

"Nominally, according to the letter of the law, a very great power over the finances is vested in the Council of India in this country; but in practice much of this power is illusory, and the Council does not fully exercise any real power that it has. A Viceroy who has views of his own may sometimes carry them out without much regard to the Home Government."

"Again, although no expenditure can be sanctioned by the Secretary of State without the consent of his Council, he might in the Secret Department direct the Viceroy to enter into a war, or to make military or political dispositions involving enormous charges or enormous sacrifices, entirely without the knowledge of the Council. Telegrams, too, seem in practice exempt from the knowledge of the Council; and in other ways, when there is a complete understand-

“between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, much influence may be exercised without formal orders passing before the Council.”

“Even as regards those things in which the Council might have real power, its members have little cohesion as a body; and I think it is generally felt by the members of the Council themselves that they do not stand so firmly on opinions of their own and exercise that substantial control over expenditure which the Legislature seems to have contemplated.”\*

No one, I should suppose, wishes to weaken the Executive Government at home or abroad; what we desire is to strengthen it by advisers that can make their counsel felt. Neither the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State ought to be deprived of the power of immediate action on his own sole responsibility in cases of emergency; but, in the first place, let it not be forgotten that the various acts of state—cases of disinheritance, alienation of property, and sequestration of districts—which have caused animadversion and appeal, were not cases of emergency, but cases which, although discussed in secret, and without reference to those concerned, were decided with some deliberation. In the second place, in cases of emergency, above all others, it is right that the Minister and the Viceroy, in proportion to the power of summary action with which they are armed, should be relieved and supported by the strength and independence of their Councils.

Neither the Council of the Viceroy nor that of the Secretary of State seems to be sufficiently strong or sufficiently independent. There is too much of the expectant official element in the Calcutta Council; in the London Council there is too much of the experienced official. The colleagues of the Viceroy in the Indian Government ought to have a more dignified and a more permanent place in the Empire than the Councillors of Trinidad or Turk's Island, and ought not to sink into the ranks of undistinguished commoners on their return home, too often to be neglected and forgotten, in spite of good service and unimpaired intellectual vigour. If the former colleagues of the Viceroy, and some, perhaps, of the members of local Governments, were noted for life by the honoured affix of “Right Honourable,” they would be available, when summoned, to advise the Secretary of State, at any time, for any period, or for any single case. The ordinary working Committee of Privy Council, forming the Indian Board, might not—need not, in my opinion—consist of more than six or eight salaried members, one or more of whom, associated with peers, judges, retired governors, or other eminent persons, would form Committees of Privy Council for judicial purposes, for special inquiries, or to report on treaties and conventions.

And thus, on the footing I venture to recommend, the immediate

\* *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876, pp. 534, 535.

advisers of the Secretary of State, associated with him by Act of Parliament, would occupy a higher and more solid position, as surely they ought, than those invisible and irresponsible gentlemen in the India Office who now, if report speaks true, sometimes usurp their functions. The Councillors, who alone can apply that real control which, as the Duke of Argyll tells us, the Cabinet neglects to apply, and who can give intelligently and of set purpose that support which the Cabinet, it is to be feared, gives blindly and as a matter of course, should stand, as nearly as possible, on a level with the Cabinet, and should be allowed free movement in the most extended sphere of statesmanship. They ought to be Privy Councillors, and there ought to be no rule against their sitting in Parliament. The fact of having sought and gained the suffrages of a constituency would be the best possible proof that the Councillor had broader views and larger sympathies than those of the mere old Indian, and would counteract the complete predominance of the professional element that prevails at present in the India Office.

Before 1858 a few Directors of the East India Company always had seats in the House of Commons. Being unofficially chosen in both capacities, they were entirely independent of the Ministry. Even this very imperfect and accidental representation of India has now disappeared, to the great loss, I venture to say, of Parliament and of the Empire.

There is a Privy Council in Ireland, to advise the Viceroy when he requires its aid. There ought to be a Privy Council for the Indian Empire. As the Privy Councillors, according to the practice at home, would only attend when formally sent for, there could be no inconvenience or restraint from the existence of such a body. Our Cabinet, not constitutionally recognized under that name, is a Committee of the Privy Council. Those members of the Indian Privy Council who, for the time being, were embodied as the consultative colleagues of the Viceroy, would form the Cabinet of India. The title of Privy Councillor being one of Royal grant, of European and permanent distinction, would be much valued, and in times of uneasy excitement or actual disturbance the special knowledge, the local authority and influence of one or two Indian nobles and statesmen who might be specially summoned, would lay open many sources of information, and might afford the most efficient means of overcoming difficulties and restoring confidence.

In cases like that of the Nawab of Tonk or the recently deposed Mulhar Rao Guikwar of Baroda, two or more of the constituent Sovereigns might be invited to join a Committee of the Privy Council for trying the accused Prince; and in cases of dispute between the Imperial Power and any of its Indian Allies, or between any two of the latter, a Committee of Council, including assessors from some of the

States of the Empire, would constitute a Court of unimpeachable competence.

Objections have been made on previous occasions to the establishment of any Court for inquiring into political cases, both from the Anglo-Indian official point of view and on behalf of the protected States. On the one hand, it is urged that the existence of such a tribunal would break down the supremacy of Great Britain; on the other, that it would degrade and humiliate the Native Princes, and reduce them from the position of Sovereigns to that of subjects. But I do not think that either of these objections will bear close examination.

If we contemplate the judicial procedure of a Committee of the Indian Privy Council from an Imperial point of view, there would be no relinquishment of supremacy by the British Crown—there would not be any semblance of the Queen submitting to the decision of a superior authority; but it would be the Queen herself giving judgment. There would only be this manifest change from the previous course, that instead of secret decrees, based possibly on imperfect or perverted information, being issued, each cause would be openly heard, and the Crown would be well advised.

From a Federal point of view, the allied and protected Princes would suffer no loss of sovereignty or dignity; they would not have to come before a municipal court, but their claims and differences would be fairly discussed by the great Council of the organized Federation, advising its Imperial Head.

Two points in my argument cannot be too firmly insisted on—first, that a tribunal would conclude and clear away matters that mere imperiousness can never put down; secondly, that it is impossible to get rid of the ultimate appeal, unless both the Crown and Parliament are to renounce their highest attributes. The only real question is, whether an appeal is to pass openly through the prescribed channel towards a dispassionate settlement, or whether it is to creep through obscure and devious paths, amid scandals, intrigues, and recriminations, perhaps to no termination at all, perhaps to some compromise which confers no honour in the one direction and awakens no gratitude in the other.

There are no grounds whatever for supposing that by the introduction of judicial rules instead of secret absolutism, or by the reduction to regular form of the ultimate appeal, authority would be in the least weakened, or dissensions multiplied. On the contrary, the serious and effective consideration of Indian affairs in London by any person, Court, or Council, unconnected by origin, fellowship, and subordination with the executive hierarchy, will tend to augment the moral influence of the Imperial Government, to promote the willing obedience and



co-operation of subjects, tributaries, and allies, and to insure a high standard of care and impartiality at every stage of administration. The knowledge that in cases of the highest importance an appeal might be made to a tribunal sitting in the light of day and hearing all parties interested, would at once put our Political Agents, Residents, and Governors into a much more judicial frame of mind than has been usual with them, so that very little room would be left for appeals, and very few appeals would lead to a reversal of the original decision.

Mr. STEWART ROLLAND thanked the gallant officer for having contributed so largely to the information and enjoyment of the meeting by the able address which he had just delivered. For himself, he could say he had listened with pleasure and attention, and must confess he accepted all the conclusions drawn by Major Bell. He would, however, carry the matter a step further, and apply the arguments adduced by Major Bell to the British Empire as well as India. (Hear, hear.) He wished to see the deliberative and executive functions separated not only in India, but in England, as he held that such a course was a necessary safeguard to any free and constitutional State. The deliberative and executive functions should be in different hands; and it occurred to him that several passages in the address just delivered would apply as well to the British Empire at large as to India, especially that part stating that "the whole business of the mis-called Foreign Department is conducted by secret correspondence, the reports, &c., being the "private and confidential work of officials who are not judicially "trained, and who are not specially qualified, either by their position, "their pursuits, or their prospects, to take a disinterested view." Then, again, "the secret and arbitrary conduct of business prevails; "the only change is that the Princes have learned to chafe under it." For the Princes he would substitute the word "Native," and apply the charge in a more general sense. To take another portion of Major Bell's address—viz., the words, "There is a great want, recently acknowledged, as we shall see, by those who have a right to speak, of "more potent consultative assistance for the Imperial Executive at "both ends of the Suez Canal—in London and in Calcutta." The very same thing applied to England, for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could direct measures which would involve an expenditure of millions and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, equally with the Secretary of State for India. Major Bell further suggested that Parliament, with all its mighty functions, is not a proper body to supervise such cases as were referred to; but to his (the speaker's) mind, one important point was missed—viz., that the functions that used to be

exercised by the Privy Council have passed to the Cabinet Council—an innovation which was quite illegal. The duty of each Privy Councillor ought to be to record the advice he gave to the Sovereign ; so that in the event of Her Majesty's Parliament—either the Lords or the Commons—being dissatisfied with any step or measure, they might address Her Majesty, praying her to give the name of the Councillor who advised the injurious action. That, in his opinion, was the state of things that ought now to obtain, providing as it did for the separation of the executive from the legislative business of the State, without which no nation or form of government could be safe.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE said that he was well acquainted with the case of Meer Jaffier Ali, which had been referred to in the able address just given by Major Bell, as also of that of Meer Ali Moorad. The first, Meer Jaffier Ali, had to meet with great difficulties in order to get a hearing for his case. He had to go about begging members of Parliament and others to assist him, taking shawls to some and different presents to others ; and, in fact, he had to do every sort of work—clean or dirty—for a number of years in order to get a hearing ; whereas, if his case could have been taken before a judge, and the arguments on both sides presented by able counsel, it could have been decided in a couple of hours. (Hear, hear.) The whole matter hinged upon the interpretation of a treaty involving the point as to whether, in the failure of male heirs, female heirs were admissible, and that took more than a dozen years' work to get settled. There was a second question, involving the consideration whether a family compact can override a rule of Mahomedan law. That question was brought before Parliament, and after the Ministry had been run very close, it was assigned to the Privy Council, and in a short hearing it was decided. Meer Ali Moorad's case was a question of supposed forgery, and the whole matter rested upon documentary evidence to be found in Blue-books. Meer Ali Moorad was no more guilty of forgery than he (the speaker) was, or any one present ; but in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining a judicial inquiry, he was under a cloud, and in the end the Government gave him an additional lakh and a-half of rupees a-year by way of compromise—a proceeding dishonourable alike to the Government and to the Ameer. Had that case been submitted to a judge, with counsel to plead on either side, it would have been finished, at any rate, as speedily as was the case of the Strathclyde and Franconia collision. (Hear, hear.) But with Indian cases the treatment was different, and a Native Prince might have his honour destroyed and his property taken from him without having any power or privilege of appeal. It was often said that authority must be maintained, but if authority was to be

maintained in such a manner, terrible results would accrue some day to India. When in India, he remembered on one occasion a Native had to complain of the injustice of one of the collectors, and came begging an audience with Sir Charles Napier. The chief of the Civil staff said to Sir Charles Napier, "Surely you will not listen to the man, or you will never be able to maintain authority." Sir Charles replied, "I never support authority to ill-use any one; I only support it so far as it supports itself. If justice has been done, everybody will be satisfied; but if injustice has been done, it will not support authority to avoid remedying it." With that sentiment he (Colonel Rathborne) heartily agreed. The speaker then proceeded to refer to the legal facilities existing in England for the settlement of all disputes, observing that the judges of the various tribunals were more respected than even the bishops or members of the Legislature. The reason for this was the fair and impartial way in which, in the English courts of law, all cases were decided; and this contrasted strongly with the method customary in India in political cases, where decisions practically final and binding were given by young men placed in high position by friendship or favouritism, and supported through thick and thin. Here, in England, the judge, giving his decision after hearing the arguments of counsel, was subject to an appeal to a higher court, where the appeal might be sustained or dismissed. And, indeed, it was possible to go beyond that, and a case might even be carried to the House of Lords. He mentioned this as a contrast to Indian practice, and asked whether that tended to injure authority. On the contrary, it strengthens it; and but for this power of appeal, he ventured to think the Bench of England would not stand so high in the estimation of the people as it does. He, moreover, was of opinion that the very knowledge that a man's judgment could not be questioned would tend to lead him into habits of deciding in a negligent manner. When, however, the possibility of appeal exists, the judge has to study the points of every case with the greatest care before giving a decision; and this, he (the speaker) believed, had been the means of raising English judges to the pinnacle of greatness which they now occupy. (Hear, hear.) Why, then, should it be otherwise in India? So far as acts of state were concerned, no one would wish for a moment that they should be submitted to appeal. A decision to go to war with Afghanistan, for instance, would be an act of state; but many things which had been brought into the category of acts of state were not justly and fairly so, but had really been questions similar to that of the Nawab Nazim, involving a question as to the interpretation of the words of a treaty made seventy years ago. When Russia tore up the Black Sea provisions of the Treaty of 1856, England put upon record a protest that no

one party to a treaty had a right to violate it ; and if Russia had no right to put its own interpretation on the treaty, neither, by the same rule, had England the right to do so in the case of its Indian feudatories and allies. When the matter was fairly considered it appeared monstrous that such actions of the British Government in regard to Indian Princes were tolerated in England. There was no doubt that the great Mutiny was greatly occasioned by the feeling which the unfairness of the Government in such matters had created. If England chose, she could consolidate her power in India to such an extent that she might defy and, if need be, fight the whole world ; but the way to strengthen that power was not by sending out more soldiers, but by conciliating the people, and dealing in an honourable, truthful, and just manner with the Native Princes of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS expressed his sense of the indebtedness of all interested in the good government of India to Major Bell for the service he had done in bringing the subject before the meeting, and added that the address had definitely shown the necessity for a Privy Council for India, or for some tribunal for the determination of cases of great importance, which now were bandied about, and, if a very gross case, might even eventually come under the notice of Parliament. These cases are decided at present, if decided at all, in such a way as to give satisfaction to no one. They may be divided into three classes : First, cases of alleged treason, disaffection, or other misconduct against the State. Under this head would come such cases as that against the King of Delhi and the Nawab of Furruckabad for abetting mutineers, and the late charge of poisoning against the Guikwar. In these cases he considered the offenders were (whether properly or otherwise) tried as British subjects. If not as British subjects, how could they be charged with treason ? It would be impossible to maintain a charge of treason against those who owed no allegiance. The King of Delhi and the Guikwar of Baroda could only be tried as British subjects, and, as such, ought, as regards publicity and an independent and unbiassed jury, to have had the same form of trial as is accorded to noblemen subjects of the Queen at home. Instead of that—taking the case of the Guikwar as an instance—the trial was conducted and decided by nominees of the Government—a course which he condemned as decidedly impolitic. Should a similar case to that of the Guikwar occur again, he suggested that the question of Guilty or Not Guilty should be submitted to a Grand Jury or Judicial Committee of, say, twenty-four, selected by means of a ballot out of a much larger number of members, say seventy (forming the Privy Council contemplated by Major Bell), selected from Native Indian nobility, the twenty-four G.C.S.I.s, and the numerous,

body of Indian administrators and councillors. The decision of a grand jury composed of individuals of such high character, independently selected, would command the respect of all India and England. The second class of cases, he submitted, were disputes of a civil nature, arising between the Government on the one hand, and a Rajah or Chief on the other, such as cases of alleged breach of treaty escheats, succession, alleged misgovernment, and money claims. Under this head would come such cases as that of the Sattara, Carnatic, Tanjore, and Nagpore successions, the alleged misgovernment of Oude and Baroda, the Nizam's Berar claims, the money claim of the Nawab Nizam of Bengal, the Jhansi case, and the Baroda succession—some of which had been determined in a very extraordinary manner. All these would be best disposed of by a tribunal consisting of twenty-four notabilities. Only let the twenty-four members forming the tribunal or committee be selected by ballot from a sufficiently large number of eminent men, and let the proceedings be open and public, it would signify little if the tribunal included one or two members with predilections against Princes and Chiefs. The third class of cases that would have to be dealt with would be disputes between Princes and Chiefs themselves—cases of disputed succession, precedence, disputed boundaries—in which the Government would not be immediately interested; and these cases, like the others, would be most satisfactorily dealt with by means of the high tribunal to which he had alluded, always including and providing the principle of publicity. (Hear, hear.) Having suggested a form which the tribunal might assume, he would ask, what better moment than the present could occur for urging the necessity for its formation upon the Government? The Prince of Wales had just returned from India, and had had ample opportunity of proving, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Princes and Chiefs of India are loyal, and desirous of proving their loyalty in every way; and, therefore, the present would be a fitting opportunity for instituting a Privy Council, and by judicious action still further encouraging the loyalty of the Natives of India.

Mr. W. F. HALE spoke next, and, after remarking upon the relative positions of England and India, said that it did the highest credit to Major Bell that he should so forcibly advocate such a substantial measure of justice to a subject race. The gallant officer had brought forward a strong indictment against several of the acts of the Government of India, in which principles were admitted which ought long ago to have come to an end. It appeared to him (the speaker) that the Secretary of State for India possessed power which was most perilous to the interests of India and that his autocratic power ought to be replaced by a more

modern and fairer method of adjudication. (Hear, hear.) If that were done, he, in common with a previous speaker, thought that England would be in a better position to cope with the advance of Russia or the interference of any other nation. England's position in regard to India ought to be perfectly unassailable on the score of justice; and in order that this should be, he agreed with Major Bell that the system of adjudication in India should be radically reformed, and that gentlemen with the eloquence and learning of the Bar should be allowed, on the one hand, to plead the cause of the Indian Prince, and, on the other hand, to defend the conduct of the English Government. Thus, in a fair and open fight of intellectual ability before such a tribunal as had been suggested, there would be a better opportunity of the Natives of India obtaining complete justice, the result of which could not but be for the honour and reputation of England. From what he had heard it was apparent that a change of system was required in India, and that change it would be for the real interest of England to secure at as early a moment as practicable. Mr. Hale concluded with a suggestion that the meetings of the Association might with advantage take place at regular intervals of, say, a month, so that members might arrange their engagements accordingly; and that more information in England as to the operations of the Association would be likely to attract a large amount of attention, now that the public thought had been attracted to India in consequence of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The outcome of the attention which would be directed to India would be an awakening of the English nation to a sense of its great responsibilities in respect to India, and the ultimate adoption of a more liberal and equitable policy than appeared to have obtained hitherto. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) observed, that the great principle underlying the question now being considered was that of publicity and impartial adjudication. To the furtherance of that principle he had for many years devoted his attention, and he believed that it had now met with universal recognition. No man now living in civilized society would, he conceived, dissent from the axiom that impartial adjudication is one of the fundamental principles of the English Constitution. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him, however, to be of little use to discuss the details of a new system of publicity until this principle had met with public and official recognition. The energies of the East India Association ought first to be directed to this point, and for the better understanding of the matter, a consideration of the circumstances which had prevented the principle taking effect in India was necessary, for without it a logical and dispassionate discussion of the subject could not be obtained. The question might be con-

sidered advantageously by dividing it into two parts—viz., first, the circumstances under which such a righteous principle had been ignored ; and secondly, not so much the details of any improved system they might take upon themselves to recommend, but the reasonable objections raised by sensible men in authority, and which had in them a certain amount of plausibility. Leaving, then, the question of principle as one generally acknowledged in England, he would proceed to examine the objections which were seriously, and not unreasonably, urged ; the first is, that the delegating authority in matters which they might call matters of state to another tribunal is weakening the prestige of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. To fully understand this objection it would be necessary to remember that the system of Indian government was brought about by circumstances which occurred not five or six hundred years ago, but within a century, during which time the English possessions in India had been converted by a company of merchants into an empire. When we were struggling for supremacy every question that arose might have involved the gravest political consequences. It therefore became necessary for the Governor-General to exercise despotic power ; and that was the root of the system that has since obtained in India. In looking at the matter fairly, therefore, they would hardly condemn the system in its inception, but would be led to regard it as one originating in the necessities of the time, and at the same time be perfectly justified in pointing out that a radical alteration was imperatively required in the present day. With regard to the objections made to the alteration on the ground of its being a diminution of the prestige of the Viceroy, the answer was that the desire to give justice impartially before the world could never have such a result. On the contrary, it is the feeling that even in the smallest instance England desires to do justice that will ratify her influence and confirm her power. That was the only answer he would offer to the objection. At the same time he (Mr. Tayler) was perfectly willing to admit the right of the Viceroy to the exclusive determination of all matters of purely political character—including, of course, the declaration of peace or war. Distinct from these, however, there were numerous other questions comprising disputes between the Government and feudatory Princes which might be delegated, and the desire to refer them to an impartial tribunal for settlement would only confer honour upon the Government and add strength to the English administration of India. (Hear, hear.) Another objection urged against the proposed alteration was to the effect that if many of the cases now settled in the political departments were referred to a judicial tribunal, the technicalities of legal procedure might result in injustice. That objection, however, was hardly worth noticing. As the East India Associa-

tion devoted itself to the interests of India, he could not but feel that they would be most usefully employed if they endeavoured to obtain a recognition of the principle of which he had spoken, by the interposition of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) During a very recent trip to India he had frequent opportunities of conversing with several of the principal Chieftains and their leading agents, and in some instances this very subject was mentioned; and though the general opinion was in favour of a more impartial judicial system, upon his asking why they did not take the necessary action to secure an alteration, the conversation was dropped, and all were silent. An intelligent agent afterwards informed him that to take any action in that direction would displease the Political officers and Government, and that amply explained their reticence. After some recapitulatory remarks in conclusion, Mr. Tayler resumed his seat amid general applause.

Mr. C. D. COLLET contended that there could be but one opinion about the necessity of providing a tribunal for the consideration of all disputes. Passing on to the exception made by some of the speakers to the exemption of matters involving a possible declaration of war, he proceeded to urge that by English law every declaration of war ought to be submitted to the Privy Council, although, as matter of fact, all declarations had not been so submitted. The hostilities with China, which everybody must deplore, had always been arrested whenever they were known beforehand to any single person not committed to them. He urged that in the event of the formation of a Privy Council for India, the ability to declare war should not be left, as suggested, to the Viceroy, but be within the decision of the Council, however constituted.

Mr. AHMED, after thanking Major Bell for the manner in which he had introduced the subject of discussion, said that he was fully of opinion that for the proper administration of justice there should be an impartial tribunal, the proceedings of which should be public. This was so obvious that it was unnecessary, in his opinion, to dwell upon it, or to adduce any reasons in support of the proposition. The question which he raised in connection with the subject was as to the position of the Native Princes of India, and in what light they were regarded. Were they to be regarded as British subjects or as sovereign Princes, enjoying sovereign rights? Upon that question the point raised in Major Bell's address would turn. If they were regarded as British subjects, they would be amenable to the tribunal constituted by British law; but if they were possessed of sovereign rights, they would not be amenable. He desired to have this point cleared up definitely. It had certainly been stated that the Native Princes are not really sovereigns, but are to a great extent subjects, since they are not permitted to enter into



treaties with each other or with external States without the sanction of the British Government; and they cannot decide any issue that may arise between them without the arbitration of the British Government,—facts which certainly tended to prove that they have not sovereign rights. Still these sovereign Princes might agree to give up that portion of their rights as to the power of making treaties, and yet retain other rights not in any way consistent with the assumption that they were British subjects. Passing from this—which he would leave as an open question—Mr. Ahmed next asked, who would be entrusted with the nomination of the Council to which it was proposed to relegate the duty of trying issues between the British Government and the Native Princes? Was the nomination of this suggested authority to be left to the British Government? If so, and the Native Princes accepted the nomination, they would virtually be recognizing England as their Sovereign, and the Princes would thus become British subjects. But if the Privy Council now proposed was composed simply as a Court of Arbitration, and consisted of a number of members sent by the British Government and a number sent by the Native Princes, he would coincide with the proposal. In any other case, although the matter had been most ably stated by Major Bell, he thought it would be impossible to carry it into effect. The address, however, would do great service in India, by giving an idea of the desire of the English that India should have justice, and that would be the best way to strengthen English influence in India. One gentleman in the course of the discussion had said that the Viceroy must be left full liberty in the matter of declaring war; and concerning that, he would ask, what is war? According to international law, as he understood it, it was quite sufficient declaration of war to move an army into the enemy's territory; so that when a British army was moved into the State of Baroda, the Guikwar would have been justified in assuming that war had been declared against him, and have made reprisals had he been as powerful as they. However, he was not so strong as the British; otherwise he would have been quite justified in resisting an army moved into the heart of his State. Not being sufficiently powerful to succeed, he would have been regarded as a traitor, and treated as such had he attempted any resistance. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. P. P. GORDON instituted a comparison between the States of India and the States of Germany, and observed that the Princes of India were vassals, and therefore subjects of the British Crown. Referring to the proposal made in the able address given by Major Bell, the speaker said he in every respect agreed with it, for he was strongly of opinion that the way to establish the British power in India was by

having everything open and above board, instead of continuing the secret and uncertain system which now existed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. A. M. BUTLER-JOHNSTONE, M.P., desired to point out that Mr. Ahmed's conception of international law was a mistaken one, as what he described would be an act of piracy or brigandage if regarded as between nations having equal rights. The modern practice of Europe had, unfortunately, justified Mr. Ahmed's view of what war was. With regard to the address given by Major Bell, he (the speaker) thought that too exclusive attention had been given to the judicial portion of the duties. The duties of the Privy Council were not only judicial, but deliberative. It was an abuse of its functions that by the usage of England it had become merely a judicial body. In former days the Privy Council was the governing body of the nation, the Secretary of State merely carrying out the behests which were authorized by the Privy Council. It was the chief deliberative and authoritative body in the kingdom, and he understood from Major Bell that a Privy Council for India would be useful for both those functions. Taking a suppository case of a possibility of war with Afghanistan—which was in a position quite different from Baroda—it would, in his opinion, be extremely useful that an ambitious Governor-General, prior to entering into such a war, should be under the obligation of putting his reasons before a Privy Council previous to his taking so serious a step. Everybody present, he believed, desired that English rule in India should be founded on justice, and therefore the judicial character of the Privy Council was of great importance; but, further, for all matters of deliberation and counsel, it would be a pity to confine the functions of the suggested Privy Council and to make it merely a judicial body. As a judicial and deliberative body, India would receive the same benefit as England would were the original functions of the existing Privy Council restored. (Hear, hear.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN then rose, and, after expressing the indebtedness of the Association to the author of the paper just read, and his interest in the discussion which had taken place, proceeded to remark upon the Royal Titles Bill, stating that on the day of the first debate in the House of Lords on the subject, he received a letter from a friend in Turkey, expressing a strong opinion in its favour, as contributing to the stability of British interests in India, through its tendency to increase the interest of Englishmen in that wonderful possession. Personally, he thought the Government speakers made the worst of their case, the best point in the debate being made by Lord Napier, who, however, did not speak from the Government side. Lord Napier dealt with the fact that there was a school—the Manchester school—ready to get rid

of the colonies and of India, and these politicians cared nothing for the greatness of England. Reverting again to his friend in Turkey, his lordship said that he had again written to him, persisting in his approbation of the new title, and one of the reasons he had given in favour of the Imperial title for India was that the Russians were very aggravated by it. (Hear, hear.) He had troubled the meeting with those remarks relative to the Imperial title because, in his opinion, the assumption of the title rendered it essential that something should be done in the direction of giving justice to India in the way that Major Bell had sketched out. It was not the first time that it had been thought desirable to have a Court of Appeal for India, and the Tonk case, which had been alluded to, was an instance in point which clearly proved the necessity for such a tribunal. No such questions ought to come before Parliament, for they were either elevated into party questions or else they sunk to the ground and received attention from no one. A gentleman from Hindustan, in the course of the discussion, had asked what was the status of Indian Princes, and he might observe that that was a most difficult point to determine, as the status differed in each case. Briefly and generally, he might define their position to be that of confederate allies. Then the same gentleman asked who would have the nomination of the suggested Privy Council, and he would observe that his opinion was that the possessors of the Star of India were the persons who might with advantage form the Privy Council, the Star of India being conferred only on experienced military leaders and statesmen, Indian Princes, or Indian Ministers, who have served in Native States. There was, however, one point which Major Bell had omitted that was brought forward by Mr. Rolland, as to the functions of the Privy Council, which he thought was a most essential one. That was that in all matters before the Privy Council the members should give their opinions in writing. An allusion had been made in the course of the discussion to the position of Native Princes, and it had been said that to place them under the authority of such a Court as that suggested would degrade and humiliate them. He thought that no importance could be attached to that, for whatever might be the sentimental difference, there could be no doubt that their position would be much better and more secure than under the present state of things. A thought struck him in connection with this point, and it was that in the colonies of Spain and Portugal it had always been the practice to submit the governors, at the termination of their tenure of office, to a judicial investigation, and it had never been alleged that the office of governor suffered any loss of dignity on that account; nor, in his opinion, could such an argument be advanced with any fairness in reference to the position of Native

Princes in India as related to the proposed Council. In closing his remarks his lordship made a reference to "acts of state," and said that he understood an endeavour was being made in Singapore to set up acts of state as part of the policy of that little colony. For a small place like Singapore, possessed of inferior judicial officers, it would be absurd to entrust the administrators with such despotic powers. In conclusion, the noble Chairman expressed a firm conviction that the establishment of a Privy Council for India, as suggested, would consolidate British influence in India, and would be another interchange of benefits between India and England, if it led to the restoration of the proper functions of the Privy Council of England. (Hear, hear.)

Major EVANS BELL remarked, by way of reply, that one of the speakers had alluded to the status of the Princes of India, which was one of the most difficult and important considerations in dealing with Indian politics. There were, doubtless, personages of high hereditary dignity, even socially higher than some of the more powerful Princes, who were distinct feudatories and vassals of the British Crown, and others who were simply like the old Highland Chieftains, having heritable jurisdiction, and whose powers might be reasonably augmented or diminished by Imperial decree. Many Chieftains are improperly termed Princes—some, to the prejudice of their lawful Suzerains, had been quietly transformed into Princes by the Indian Government; but, apart from all these doubtful or questionable cases, there are Princes in India who are decidedly—except so far as their powers are limited by treaties with the British Government—entitled to the rights, immunities, and distinctions of reigning Sovereigns. Their rights, however, would not be interfered with by anything that he had proposed on this occasion, since it simply amounted to this, that questions as to any existing treaty with the British Government that might be involved in any dispute would be determined by a judicial process instead of a secret one, and this change could have no other effect than to improve the position of a Native Prince, whatever his rank might be. (Hear, hear.)

Votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to the Chairman and to Major Evans Bell, and the sitting then terminated.

*Indian Manufactures and the Indian Tariff.*

PAPER BY ROBERT H. ELLIOT, Esq.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION ON TUESDAY,  
MAY 23, 1876.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, BART., K.C.S.I., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Tuesday afternoon, May 23, 1876, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, for the purpose of considering the subject of "Indian Manufactures and the Indian Tariff," introduced by Mr. Robert H. Elliot.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, Bart., K.C.S.I., M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Lord Trimleston, Sir Charles McGregor, Bart., Colonel P. Dods, Colonel W. A. Fyers, Colonel Nassau Lees, Colonel Silver, Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Hicks, R.H.A., Lieut.-Colonel Therry, Captain Barnewall, Captain W. C. Perry, Captain W. C. Palmer (Hon. Secretary of the East India Association), Rev. James Long, Mr. William Tayler, Dr. R. A. Barker, Dr. A. Burn, Dr. H. Harper, Mr. William Dent, Mr. Bryce McMaster, Mr. J. B. Chalmers, Mr. J. S. Laurie, Mr. B. F. Hall, Mr. F. R. S. Wyllic, Mr. C. H. Hamilton, Mr. J. C. Parry, Mr. F. W. Fox, Mr. R. U. Ahmed, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Mr. W. F. Hale, Mr. G. W. Forrest, Mr. R. H. Dunning, Mr. P. V. Bose, Mr. R. B. Swinton, Mr. Charles Robson, Mr. John Jones, Mr. P. C. Sen, Mr. L. Broughton, Mr. W. B. Jones, Mr. T. A. E. Miller, Mr. P. W. Colon, Mr. J. F. W. Drummond, Mr. D. Oliver, Mr. B. Borrah, Mr. J. T. Zorn, &c.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Elliot as one well qualified to speak on the subject of Indian Manufactures and the Indian Tariff,

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT delivered the following address :—

In the year 1832 there came to the English Government from the Natives of Bengal a petition praying that the duties then levied on the introduction of their goods here might be abolished, in order that the Indian might be placed on an equal footing with the English manufacturer. At the present moment the spinners and weavers of England are praying for the abolition of the import duties now levied on the introduction of their goods in India, in order that they may be placed on an equal footing with their rivals in those regions. The first of these petitions told surely how we were destined to supplant the hand-made manufacturers of the East; the second, no less clearly,

how trade is tending towards its ancient channels: It was diverted from them owing to the skill, capital, and machinery of the West overcoming the cheap hand labour of the East. It is in process of reverting to them, owing to the skill, capital, and machinery of the West going out to settle amongst the cheap labour of the East. There has thus begun the march of a manufacturing revolution, which, having commenced with cotton, has already extended itself to jute, will soon spread to wool, silk, and paper, and which must eventually extend to many other industries,—a revolution greater than the world has ever seen, and which will not only affect us, but all the white races who have any manufactures worth mentioning. Nor is this invasion of the West by the East by any means likely to confine itself to the transference of machinery to the Asiatic labourer. In the case of India, it is true, we have solely the fact of the Western machinery going to the Eastern labourer; but in the case of China, we have the Eastern labourer going to the Western machinery. And in California, where the Chinese are now estimated at 90,000, we find that the Chinaman has already commenced to devour the American, and is rapidly driving him out of mill and factory. That laborious and enterprising race has also invaded Australia; and seeing that the Chinaman is prepared to emigrate in the face of the greatest difficulties, it must be no small comfort to those who are now setting up mills in India to know that when the 240,000,000 of Indians have been exhausted, there will still be some 400,000,000 of Chinese to fall back on. But though it is impossible to refrain from glancing for one moment at the competition that has already commenced between the Eastern and Western labourer, I must not forget that the question of Indian manufactures and the Indian tariff will occupy all our time, and I will, therefore, leave you to depict for yourselves the momentous economical and political events which must arise when the vast masses of Asia go forth to invade the labour markets of the world.

And now let me state the order of treatment it seems most convenient to adopt.

I. In the first place, then, I shall point to the causes of the slow development of Indian manufactures, and suggest two measures for accelerating their progress.

II. In the second place, I shall have to comment on the declared policy of Lord Salisbury as regards the Indian cotton duties; and after having shown the evil results of that declaration of policy, I hope to show, finally, how the representative of India in this country may be placed as far as possible out of the reach of the strong temptations he sometimes has to sacrifice Indian to English interests.

The most remarkable fact connected with the subject that is now to occupy our attention is that the vast manufacturing field of India should have been so long neglected ; for, from its extensive sea-board, its natural water communications, its immense docile and teachable populations, its command of home and foreign selling markets, its command of raw material on the spot, and its facilities for drawing raw material from abroad, and, finally, its command of both coal and water power, it may safely be asserted that there is no part of the world which contains such commanding facilities for almost every branch of manufactures. Now, if this immense field has only been partially and tardily occupied, it is mainly because we have failed to carry out, as regards manufactures, that policy which we have brought to bear on other lines of Indian progress ; for the practice of the Government generally has been to lead the way, to show what can be done, and then abandon the field to the general public. The necessity for this course is sufficiently obvious. India has neither the climate nor the attractions of America, Australia, or the Cape. A foreign language has to be learnt, and a new people to be dealt with. Add to this that an Englishman's family must be sent home for education, and it is plain that India is the reverse of an attractive country. As a rule, then, the conditions of success must, first of all, be demonstrated by the Government if you wish for rapid progress. It did not, for instance, wait for private enterprise as regards railways and canals ; nor did it wait for private enterprise as regards tea. There it led the way with tea plantations of its own, and, after the new industry was fairly started, withdrew. The State has also led the way as regards cinchona plantations, and after the cultivation has been well established, these, no doubt, will be sold. It has also freely spent the money of the people on model farms and cotton commissioners, and supported an Agricultural Gazette for the distribution of information. But at manufactures the Government has halted abruptly. Its policy here has clearly said to the people of India : " You are evidently " destined by Providence to be simply a digging and producing animal ; " you are therefore to be taught to grow better cotton and better fibres. " You are to be provided with the means of improving the breeds of sheep, " in order that you may supply better wool ; and to be taught to produce " more and better silk. You are to be taught to do everything but " manufacture. For that we have been as clearly destined by Providence. " You, then, are to produce all the raw products, despatch them six " thousand miles across the globe, and we will make them up in our " mills, and send the manufactured articles back to you." So, in effect, has our policy plainly said to the people of India. Now, this is a short-sighted, despicable policy, which can never find employment for the

people, or create that general prosperity which can alone lift us out of our financial difficulties. It must be utterly changed; for the experience of the Indian past has shown us that it is in vain to look for prosperity in public works, in the shape of railways and tramways. Sufficient has been done in that line for the present. The public works of the immediate future must consist of industrial schools, in the shape of cotton, woollen, silk, and paper mills. As for the first, I need say nothing, for the conditions of success have been already proved, and it only remains to start a few model mills in the untried districts of the interior. As to the second, a certain proportion of native wool is to be had on the spot, while from Australia boundless supplies can be drawn; and at present, enough for model mills could be procured at a merely nominal freight, as the horse-laden vessels from those regions at present sail in ballast. As to the third, there is Bengal silk, to commence with; while Japanese and Chinese silk could be laid down in India far more cheaply than in Europe, and it is probable that even Syrian silk could be imported with advantage. As for the fourth, good paper can be made from the bamboo; and I may mention that a Sunderland paper manufacturer once wrote to me as regards this, and enclosed a sample of bamboo which had been prepared for paper-making, for which it had been found to answer perfectly. The gentleman in question had been induced to turn his attention to the subject, because the supply of paper-making materials was falling short of the demand. I replied that India was evidently the field for paper manufacture, and recommended him to take his machinery out to the bamboo. But I have not as yet heard that my correspondent has thought fit to adopt that suggestion. These manufactures I have mentioned because the conditions for their successful introduction are beyond doubt; and when they are started, the Government should bring out a Manufacturing Gazette of India, and so keep the public regularly informed as to all the conditions and prospects of the various mills. Then, when private enterprise came in, Government should go out, as it did in the case of tea, and will, no doubt, soon do in the case of cinchona.

Having thus indicated the measure of measures for pushing on manufactures in India, I will now briefly recommend another, and that is, that the Government should publish a short book on India, containing a general summary of all those points as to which an ordinary Englishman might wish to be informed; for India is only uninteresting to the English because it is not understood, and it is not understood because there is no book in existence by reference to which an Englishman could at once obtain a general knowledge of the country, combined with



specific direction as to where to go to if he wants to follow up any particular subject. The "Moral and Material Progress Report," published annually by the India Office, is often an able compilation, and in the case of the one brought out under the auspices of Mr. Clements Markham, it would be difficult to find a more admirable work; but admirable though it was, it was still a Blue-book, and to the general public of no value. I would therefore suggest that it be reduced to a mere return of figures, and that the Government should bring out a book which would be at once suitable for the general reader, the specific inquirer, and for use as a class-book in the upper forms of all our schools. It should contain a chapter on geography; one on the system of government at present existing; chapters on the condition and prospects of manufactures, railways, and mining; a chapter on the finances; and last, though by no means least, one on the value that India has been, and now is, to the English people. At the end of each chapter there should be a list of the works or reports to which every one should go who wants detailed information; and at the end of the book there should be a classified list of the works relating to all other matters of interest connected with India. You will observe that I have suggested what I may call practical chapters, and I have done so because the average Englishman does not want to know when the Greeks invaded India, or how religious systems rose and fell, and still less does he care to hear of kings and princes with names that convey nothing to him but difficulties of pronunciation. What he does want to hear about is, how money can be made, and where it can be invested; and these are the points, therefore, to which the book in question should mainly be devoted. The last chapter may seem to depart from my suggestion; let me, therefore, say something as to its practical value, and illustrate it by the following anecdote. When the Prince of Wales's tour was under discussion, I strolled into Hyde Park one afternoon, entered the outskirts of a crowd which had just been listening to the fervid oratory of Mr. Bradlaugh, and fell into conversation with a lean, middle-aged man who was vehemently against the grant for the tour, and on a variety of grounds which I need not enter into. I listened politely to all he said, and when he had quite done, asked him if Mr. Bradlaugh had told them of the value that India had been to the British workman, and on it appearing that he had not, briefly went over some points, which showed that no one certainly had a greater interest in India than the British workman. In five minutes the man's views had completely changed, and he finally agreed that any reasonable expenditure might be incurred by the British nation if it was to have the effect of bringing the two countries closer together. Now, all of you who have any knowledge of Indian affairs must at once

perceive the drift of this illustration; for you all know that if anything went wrong with opium (and considering the state of our relations with China, it is impossible to say what a few years may bring forth), England would, for a time at least, have to come forward to the assistance of India, as, if it did not, it is difficult to see how the interest on the liabilities could be met. Now, you must remember that the people of England have been carefully contracted out of any kind of even implied responsibility for Indian liabilities. In other words, we, by one and the same act, took over the country from the Company and formally disclaimed any kind of responsibility not only for all the existing, but also for all the future debts that India might contract. Now, if the masses here were fully informed as to the value of India to them, they would readily recognize the necessity for coming forward to her assistance; but, in the absence of such information, they would certainly fall back on the remarkable disclaimer I have alluded to, and serious political discord would ensue, or, at least, a serious delay in coming to the rescue would take place. The very great importance, then, both on general and special grounds, of imparting some knowledge of Indian affairs throughout the kingdom seems urgent, and no time should, therefore, be lost in producing the book in question. Speaking as a Chairman of a School Board, I may say that I have long been conscious of the want of such a work, and that, after diligent inquiry, I have been unable to find anything at all resembling the kind of thing required.

Let me now offer some observations on the declared policy of Lord Salisbury as regards the cotton duties. And here I am afraid I shall have to make some remarks which may appear to be somewhat disagreeable. But you must clearly understand that I do not mean to attribute any such motives to Lord Salisbury as were hinted at by the Duke of Argyll when he lately spoke, in the House of Lords, of the Indian Minister going down to Manchester on the stump. There is, however, an action of the mind which is called unconscious cerebration, by which a man, though involved in deep thought, is enabled to avoid a puddle in the street. Well, in his lordship's political path there undoubtedly existed a puddle. Now, I do not for one moment suppose that he consciously sacrificed his duties to his interests, but he avoided the puddle; in other words, he adopted a course which was received with cheers by the powerful trading interest of Northern England, and with indignation by every section of English and Native society in India, from the Governor-General downward. And who is there who could say that he would not have adopted Lord Salisbury's policy had he been exactly in Lord Salisbury's position? Now, in future, the representative of India here should not only be placed as far as possible beyond the

probability of being actuated by unconscious cerebration, but beyond even the suspicion of having acted from interested motives. From that consideration alone I think it must be apparent that this is a very important subject, and therefore well worthy of careful examination.

In the first place, it may be well to point out that Indian interests in this country are represented by the Secretary of State for India; and in order that this fact may be constantly kept before the mind of the Minister in question, the English Government, though it commands the labours of Salisbury for English business, is good enough to consent to his salary being entirely paid by the Indian people. In order, further, that he may be the more constantly reminded of the country he represents, the costly building in which he transacts his business has also been paid for by India. The chair in which he sits, the pen which he uses, and the very paper on which he writes his most soothing and conciliatory despatches are, too, paid for by the Natives of that distant region. It must be remembered, further, that this representative of Indian interests is surrounded by a chosen band of councillors, whose actual experience in India stretches far back towards the earliest year of the century. These are fifteen in number; and though we have no means of knowing what they do or how they act, I may go so far as to say that they are supposed to operate so that the Indian Minister may the more completely represent the country by whom he is paid. Their salaries are also paid for by India, and the total amount which that country pays for representation here comes to 23,000*l*. a-year. Now, it may seem that I am dwelling unduly on the fact that India pays to be well represented here; but it is very necessary that I should do so, because the fact that India does pay to be represented here seems to have been entirely lost sight of by the Indian Minister; and so completely is this the case, that if we follow his steps during the late cotton agitation, we should naturally come to the conclusion that he was in the pay of the English people, and the representative of the city of Manchester. And we should come to this conclusion not only from what he did, but from what he said, both at Manchester and in the course of the long defence of his conduct which he lately delivered in the House of Lords.

Let me now bring the leading points before you as briefly as possible. In the first place, it is important to remember that the import duties on cotton goods which Lord Salisbury now wishes to abolish have probably existed ever since the East India Company had the power to impose any tax on the customs. It certainly existed previously to 1793, when the Government of Bengal re-enacted the customs' duties; and as there were no mills to protect up to the year 1854, it is unnecessary to say that this was never intended to be a protective

duty, but was merely one of the ordinary taxational resources of the Empire. It has been levied at rates varying with the needs of Government, having been as low as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and as high as 10 per cent. It is now at 5 per cent., at which rate it yields the important sum of 800,000*l.*, which, being distributed over 240,000,000 of people, is certainly not felt by them to be oppressive. Nor, while numerous complaints have come to us from India as regards the high rate of the land-tax, and the excessive rate at which the salt-tax is now levied, has anything been heard as to the duty in question. And still less does it act so as to prevent the use of our cottons; and this is proved from the fact that the importation of English goods has steadily increased, and in 1874-75 was larger than it had ever been. On the side of India, then, no possible objection has been or can be made to the tax, either on the ground that it is oppressive or that it acts so as to force the people back on Native manufactures, which they would not otherwise buy. On what grounds, then, should this tax be interfered with? Is it because the Indian Government has more money than it knows what to do with, and that, having reduced all the most objectionable taxes and paid off the entire debt, it is merely a question of tweedledum and tweedledee as to which tax it would be best to deal with next? To those who know India these questions will appear to be ridiculous. To those who do not, and who are left to infer the condition of Indian finances from the policy of the Indian Minister, they will appear perfectly natural. But so far from the financial conditions and prospects being in a satisfactory state, there never was a time when greater caution could be needed. The liabilities of the Empire are increasing, the famines of the future are to be paid for, the already enormous population is rapidly increasing. One-sixth of the revenues arises from our being able to force opium on the Chinese, and is admitted by every one to be precarious. The depreciation of silver alone is a sufficient reason for clinging to every existing source of revenue. Lastly, but by no means leastly, the growth of individual rights, the consequences of which have been entirely overlooked, and which I have no time to go into here, threatens us with a pauperism greater than the world has ever seen. Whence, then, has this precious policy emanated? Well, it came up from Manchester, and was laid at the feet of the Indian Minister by a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce. Now, the deputation found favour in the eyes of Lord Salisbury. Nay, more: his lordship actually went down to Manchester in order that he might imbibe from the pellucid springs of Manchesterian thought a still larger quantity of enlightenment as regards the proper management of the finances of India. We all know what followed. Lord Salisbury sent out orders to the Viceroy to

manipulate the tariff so as to meet the wishes of the Manchesterians. Well, Lord Northbrook did manipulate the tariff, but he left the Manchesterians and Lord Salisbury out in the cold; in other words, he refused to throw away an important source of revenue, and in doing so he has been backed by the whole English and Native Press in India, and by the Press here, which was on that occasion ably led by the *Times* newspaper, and, I venture to say, he is at this moment backed by the common sense of the English nation.

And now we come to a very remarkable part of this matter. In the beginning it is possible that Lord Salisbury might have had some excuses to offer for what he did. He might have thought it of no importance to reduce the debt, or the salt-tax; that the financial prospects were excellent; that every political good, and no political evil, was to be expected from his policy; and that, therefore, the first available surplus should be devoted to sweeping away the grievances of Manchester. But when it went like wildfire through India that she was to be sacrificed to Manchester—when it was perfectly plain that, say and prove what you might, the Native opinion on the subject would remain unchanged—when it was clear that the Government in India and the Native and Anglo-Indian Press were all firmly linked together, and determined to resist to the utmost,—he could no longer plead ignorance as to the important political evils of the policy that had been forced on him by Manchester; and, taking into consideration that the fall of silver was rapidly proceeding, still less could he plead ignorance as to the financial prospects of the future. Under these circumstances, what did his lordship do? Well, he hardened his heart, and sent out Sir Louis Malet to see what could be done in the way of manipulating the finances of India so as to meet the wishes of the Manchesterians. Now, in whose pay is Sir Louis Malet? and who paid the expenses of his Indian trip? Well, he is in the pay of the Indian people, who are to have the privilege, too, of paying for his journey. Now, does not this seem like knocking a man down, and then sending him in a bill for your trouble? Of all the national perquisites we have gleaned from the Indian Treasury, this is certainly the most curious. How often do we hear in these days of the dearth of original thought! But, lacking though it may be in many quarters, it seems still to be found occasionally at the India Office, and I can only regret, on this occasion, that it should have been developed in the wrong direction. There is, however, for every wrong a remedy. Let the expenses of Sir Louis Malet be estimated, and the bill sent in to the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester. Are not the people who compose that body always crying aloud for justice, and do they not always profess to be willing to pay for everything they get?

Let us, lastly, try if we cannot arrive at some explanation of Lord Salisbury's extraordinary persistence in this matter, and briefly allude to that elaborate defence which he delivered in the House of Lords on the 14th of last March. Now, I am not going into all the arguments he urged in favour of adopting the policy under consideration. Some of them certainly seem to me, as they did to his opponents on that occasion, to collide with his written statements on the subject. One argument, however, to which he attached great importance, is not liable to the objection of seeming to be at variance with his previously expressed opinions, and is worth quoting, just to show on what weak lines of defence he was compelled to fall back. His lordship, then, is reported to have said that "if ever there is a danger to the English "rule in India, you may depend upon it it will not be from any "resistance from the subject races, but from divisions in the race which "rules." So that, because in the remote future it is just possible that, in some way or other, English manufacturers in India may have disputes with those in England, Lord Salisbury would rather adopt a policy now with the view of preventing such a contingency, notwithstanding that in the meanwhile it will create a deep sense of our injustice, and therefore deep discontent, in the minds of the subject races. But I will not take up your time with further remarks on this fanciful argument, and will now give you from the speech in question another quotation, which seems to show us something of what was in his lordship's mind. Speaking, then, of the cotton duties, he is further reported to have said: "If we had not repealed them, if we had not touched "them, but had allowed the Government of India to have its own "way, we should have been met with a motion in the House of "Commons declaring that it was desirable to repeal the cotton duties "in India." Now, does not this plainly show us that it had occurred to Lord Salisbury that if he did not please Manchester, Manchester would give his party trouble in the House of Commons? Now, I do not for one moment say that Lord Salisbury is guilty of political corruption, or that he meant anything of the kind, but that, in effect, a political bait has been dangled before the eyes of the powerful trading interests of Northern England I do not for one moment doubt. Nor do I for one moment doubt that his declared policy is a sacrifice to Manchester of the interests and wishes of the people of India. Now, it is the business of this Association to defend these interests. I therefore protest as strongly as possible against Lord Salisbury's declared policy of the devoting the first available surplus to the reduction and ultimate extinction of the cotton duties. I object to it because the people of India regard it as an act of gross injustice, and because it is, therefore,

calculated to breed ill-will against us and our rule; I object to it because the country cannot afford to sacrifice any source of revenue, and because, if it could, the reduction of the salt-tax and of the debt stand first. In all this painful business I can only see one gleam of good. Let us be just. If we oppose Manchester and blame Lord Salisbury, let us also thank them where we can. I accordingly, then, do thank them for having given the people of this country an opportunity of declaring that, come what may, we mean in the future to deal fairly by India.

Having thus recorded my sense of the obligations we owe to Manchester and Lord Salisbury, I will now suggest a method for at least diminishing the probability of India being misrepresented in this country. The Secretary of State for India should be appointed like our Indian Viceroy, hold office independently of the rise and fall of parties, be eligible for re-appointment for a further term of as many years, and have a seat in Parliament as the representative of the interests of India. Nor for a person occupying such a position would India object to pay even double what it now does. But it does, very naturally and reasonably, object to pay, and then have its wishes and interests utterly misrepresented. Had an Indian Minister, appointed as I have suggested, been at the India Office when the deputation from Manchester arrived, can any one doubt what the result would have been? Instead of the undignified spectacle of a great Minister rushing down to Manchester to throw himself into the arms of the Chamber, the deputation would have been dismissed with a grave rebuke for venturing to make such a request as that any Indian surplus should be devoted to the interests of a single branch of English trade.

Let me, lastly, say a few words on a point which has forced itself very strongly on my attention when reading Lord Salisbury's speeches on this subject, and also the speech of Lord Lytton when he went down to get his parting lecture at Manchester. It is painful to have to say that neither said one word to lead their hearers to suppose that the interests of the people of India were, first of all, to be taken into consideration. But Manchester not only lectures, but is the cause of lectures in others. We, too, can lecture in our humble way. Let us, then, suggest to the Indian Minister what his duty is, and in words that came direct from the most honest and the warmest heart that ever went to India. They well express the feelings that should animate all our public men in dealing with India, and they are the more valuable because they are taken from private letters. I quote them from Hunter's "*Life of Lord Mayo*": "I have only one object in all I do," wrote Lord Mayo. "I believe we have not done our duty to the

“people of this land. Millions have been spent on the conquering race which might have been spent in enriching and in elevating the children of the soil. We have done much, but we can do a great deal more. It is, however, impossible, unless we spend less on the interests and more on the people. We must first take into account the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all.”

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure the meeting had listened with very great pleasure and attention to the address which had been given by Mr. Elliot, and he was equally sure that no man was better qualified than Mr. Elliot to claim the attention of the East India Association. There was no man who had more zealously devoted his time and energy in the unselfish effort to interest the people of England in the affairs of India and the condition of its people. (Hear, hear.) No man could have a better recommendation to the favour of the meeting—(hear, hear)—and for himself he could say that he heartily wished there were more men of this kind in this country—men who, having had experience in India, were willing to devote themselves unselfishly to the task of representing its wants, resisting the tendency, so apt to operate upon men in his position, of yielding to the associations of home and the calls of society, and thus to become forgetful of the land they had left. (Hear, hear.) They were, doubtless, aware that on many occasions Mr. Elliot had put himself forward in advocacy of the interests of the people of India—(hear, hear)—and the members of the East India Association, and many distinguished gentlemen whom he saw present, would heartily sympathize with him in this unselfish work. (Hear, hear.) Speaking for himself, he (Sir George Campbell) could say—without pledging himself to everything which Mr. Elliot had said—that he heartily sympathized with much that had been said in the address they had just heard; and he certainly shared with earnestness Mr. Elliot's views as to the extreme desirability of extending and disseminating a knowledge of Indian affairs among the people of this country—(hear, hear)—much more extensively than had been the case up to the present time. He (the speaker) believed that probably the most beneficial result of the recent visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India would be the increased interest which would be aroused at home in the progress of Indian affairs; and, indeed, this had been the result. Still, he must confess that he wished that interest may lead to some more practical knowledge on the subject of the Indian Government and people



than has been obtainable by means of the "special correspondents" of the English newspapers. (Laughter.) Those gentlemen had furnished the reading public at home with much that was very interesting, and much that was quite true—with a good deal, perhaps, that was not quite true—and their letters made very pleasant reading; and the worst that could be said of their writing was that perhaps they gave rather too much of it. (Laughter.) But those who knew India—and he saw gentlemen in the room who knew India intimately—would be aware that the "special correspondents'" letters gave only a superficial view of things, a mere skimming of the surface, and that beneath all of what they spoke there existed grave and important subjects in relation to the people of India which it was very desirable the people at home should know, which it was very desirable should be brought out to the knowledge of public opinion here, but which the correspondents did not touch. (Hear, hear.) He was quite sure that the more public knowledge on the subjects to which he referred was made obtainable by the people of England, the more satisfied they would be that the interests of the people of India and the interests of the people of England were identical, and that the more their affairs were worked together the better for them both. (Hear, hear.) He also believed that the increase of general public knowledge at home in relation to India would lead to some correction of the extreme disposition to force upon India institutions which were peculiar to Europe or our own country. (Hear, hear.) Hence he need hardly say he sympathized very much with Mr. Elliot's views when he told them that, accompanied by the creation of the principle of landed property on a large scale in India, there was too much reason to fear that we had created a great and increasing amount of pauperism. (Hear, hear.) He believed there were great agrarian subjects which had yet been hardly grappled with in India, but which would sooner or later require to be thoroughly settled; and the more the people of England understood these problems the more satisfactory the ultimate settlement would be. (Hear, hear.) Then, coming to a matter introduced in Mr. Elliot's address, he was constrained to say that an Association of this kind should sedulously avoid the introduction of personal or political matters; and if he might say anything in criticism of the address, he would suggest that it was rather hard upon the motives and opinions by which statesmen are guided. As to Lord Salisbury, he (Sir George) had sat with him in the India Office, and could testify that in the most single-minded way his lordship devoted himself to the interests of India. He took Lord Salisbury to belong to the class in which he included Mr. Elliot—a class having great interests in England, but who, in so far as they are brought into connection with India, devoted

themselves with singleness of purpose and zealous ability to the advancement of the interests of that country. If his lordship was mistaken in one particular, it was too bad to impute motives as influencing his action. Turning to Lord Northbrook, the Chairman said he would be welcomed back to England after having devoted himself for years to the service of the Indian Empire, and nothing he had done with reference to the customs tariff of the country could be blamed so far as regards his opposition to the reduction of the cotton duties; criticism would rather be directed, by those who knew the subject best, to the sacrifice of a large amount of revenue, which some of them thought could ill be spared. He thought Mr. Elliot had also dealt somewhat hardly with Lord Lytton, who, he remembered, addressed a Manchester deputation just before he left England, and was singularly frank, and told those gentlemen that the finances of India must first be studied and considered—that the finances of India were in a far from promising state, and that, therefore, they must not expect the early abolition of the duty upon cotton goods which they were seeking at his hands. (Hear.) He (Sir George) ventured to express his humble opinion that in this matter Lord Lytton expounded the true state of things, and indicated the right course to be taken. He believed that for some years the question of abolition of the duty on cotton goods was removed from the category of practical and pressing questions. It was acknowledged on all hands and by all parties that the question was one that would depend entirely upon cotton duties could not and would not be abolished. His own views in the state of Indian finance, and that at present did not admit of any sacrifice of revenue. That being so, it was clear to his mind that the regard to Indian finance were not at all sanguine, as he felt that the time when any sacrifice of revenue would be possible was far distant, and it would probably be many years before the question could arise in a practical shape. When the Indian revenue shows a fair surplus, then will be the time to put the question before the Government of India to consider whether in those days the remission of the cotton duties is most pressing, or whether there are other things of a more pressing character. (Hear, hear.) He was anxious that justice should be done to Lord Salisbury, and the opportunity to do so was given, for in a despatch to India under date of July, 1875, he found that the state of Indian finance was fairly and fully reviewed. He found in that that there was no talk of a surplus, but, on the contrary, his lordship seemed to take a just view of the position of India, and showed that there was no real surplus, but that in reality the sources of revenue are most precarious, and not such as give rise to sanguine expectations of being able to abolish any tax. He found also that Lord Salisbury had given precedence to

the question of the reduction of the salt-tax. (Hear, hear.) In that despatch he had said plainly that there was no surplus, but that when a surplus presented itself then would be the time to weigh the items of taxation. To his (the speaker's) mind, the salt-tax was a duty that ought to be modified before cotton goods were relieved,—at all events, the claims of the two articles must have fair and serious consideration as against each other. So far, then, Lord Salisbury and he were agreed; although some justification for the remarks made by Mr. Elliot was to be found in the fact that in the House of Lords, in the pressure of debate, his lordship had said things to which they might take exception. But in these matters it would be well to discuss political despatches rather than words spoken in haste and under pressure in the House of Lords. The position of the Government of India in England was this, that the financial resources of India do not admit of reduction, and that when the favourable opportunity arrives the Government will be unpledged. That was a position which approved itself to his mind; but before sitting down he desired to say that, looking at the matter apart from the interests of England and the justice England was entitled to claim in respect of home manufactures, and regarding it solely as an Indian financial and fiscal question, he considered the duty on cotton goods as an extremely fair duty, which he should be unwilling to sacrifice, speaking from an Indian point of view. (Hear, hear.) He should not only be disinclined to sacrifice that source of revenue, but would rather relieve salt from the charge upon it, because this was necessary to the health and economic habits of the people. An article of prime necessity as it was, salt was, nevertheless, subject to a tax in India which in some parts of the country amounted to from 2,000 to 2,500 per cent. (Hear, hear.) He thought these clashing interests of cotton and salt ought to be fairly considered, in order to see if the justice claimed by Manchester could not be reconciled with the justice due to the people of India. He was somewhat inclined to favour the idea of placing Manchester on a fair and equal footing with India in the way of equalizing the duty on cotton, by putting an excise duty upon Indian cotton equal to the import duty on European cotton goods. He did not, however, propose to include in the suggested excise duty the productions of the hand-loom weavers of India, but only the goods manufactured by machinery in the large manufactories fitted up in the European fashion. He had heard the idea of such an excise duty scouted, but he had not heard any reasons demonstrating its impossibility. It seemed to him that in these large manufactories it would be but a matter of detail to ascertain the amount of production, for so many mills with a given number of spindles would produce an amount of manufactured cotton

goods sufficiently approximate for the purpose of taxation. Then the duty could be charged upon the total amount produced for consumption in India, and a drawback allowed on goods exported from India to Persia, China, Europe, and other parts of the world. He failed to see anything impracticable in such a duty, and he hoped that in the discussion which would follow this particular view of the subject would be followed up by gentlemen possessed of more practical knowledge than he had, as he desired to learn if there were any actual obstacles which rendered such an excise duty as he had suggested impracticable. To his mind such a course would be more expedient than sacrificing the present duty on cotton, which was an important item in the revenue account of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. F. HALE thought the meeting was greatly indebted to Sir George Campbell not only for his attendance, but for the liberal and statesmanlike expression of opinion he had vouchsafed to them upon the affairs of India. (Hear.) It appeared to him that the East India Association was taking a very wise course in attracting public attention to Indian subjects, for the more acquainted the Indian and the English peoples became, so much the more chance would there be of that justice being meted out to India which had been so forcibly suggested at various times by the members of the Association. With regard to the question under discussion, it appeared to him very evident that the manufacturing interests of India require all the development and assistance English interests will allow them to have. (Hear, hear.) He might say, that so far as his experience of Manchester men was concerned, it led him to regard them as a somewhat selfish class, which contrived to have the lion's share as compared with the merchants of any other part of the world ; and he would further suggest that these same Manchester men should take it into their heads to study the interests of the British Empire as a whole, and the fair fame of England as a manufacturing nation, a little more, by sending out to India goods of a better and more honest character than was too frequently now the case. (Hear, hear.) Then they would discover that, whatever they suffer in the matter of duties, they would be amply compensated for by the development of their trade. It was of the highest importance that in commercial matters India should have a right to look to England for an example ; and if the Natives found that goods supposed to be of a certain quality turned out to be very inferior, a very bad impression would be created, and the English trading system be prejudiced as partaking of a fraudulent character. As regarded the position of Manchester men, he saw no reason for unduly studying them, but would rather that all legislative action should be based upon the English interests in India, which

would be best conserved by acting upon the broadest principles of justice. India being represented in England by a Secretary of State, whose official duties are paid for out of the revenues of India, it clearly was the duty of that Minister, in dealing with any question, to have regard first of all to the interests of India, and to promote only such measures as would conduce to the benefit of that country,—of course consistently with due care for the interests of England. The two countries are so closely allied to each other by mutual interests, that the considerations now before the meeting become most important; and such attention to the claims of India as was given by the East India Association, taken in conjunction with the recent visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, would tend largely to the maintenance of harmonious relations. Referring to the portion of Mr. Elliot's address which pointed to the necessity for the dissemination of information concerning India, the speaker expressed his entire concurrence with all that had been said on the matter; and remarking upon the immense loss that India would sustain by the demonetization of silver, he contended that, in the face of such obvious difficulties, the demands of Manchester ought not to be unduly considered, but, on the contrary, that a fair and considerate treatment, combined with a certain amount of liberality, ought to be extended to India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. W. FOX thought that the duty of Englishmen was to view India in the same manner that an intelligent and far-sighted landowner would regard his estate. A judicious landlord in England adopts such improvements as would improve the condition of his labourers and the ultimate value and productiveness of his land. Surely there are few landlords who would advocate the establishment of turnpikes on the roads to their estates, as they know it would be impolitic to impede the transit of manure and agricultural produce. Should not the same principle of freedom of trade be applied to the development of India? By developing the commerce and trade of India we shall increase the resources of her people, and cause the value of their labour to be enhanced, enabling, in course of time, the labourer to earn double the wages he does at present. With the increase of the wealth and resources of the people, the Government would not experience the same difficulty in abolishing the opium trade and the tax upon salt, as the land ought, and could be made, to produce ample resources for raising the Imperial revenue. England is regarded as a rich country, but India could be made a far richer one if we would only utilize its immense labour market. This could only be accomplished by capital being brought to bear upon the Hindu labourer through the natural channels of trade, and by removing all artificial and natural barriers to its free develop-

ment. With regard to the opium trade, the speaker expressed a strong opinion to the effect that it had been a great curse to India and to the world. He asked, what wise and prudent landlord would encourage on his estate the growth of a poison for the sake of a large temporary gain, when he knew in the long run only misery and poverty would be inflicted upon the people around him? It surely was the duty of the Government to remove a source of revenue which, whilst it was apparently for a time most productive, was developing results of a most disastrous character, and sapping the energy and industry of a great nation.

Dr. A. BURN observed that all present must be deeply indebted to Mr. Elliot for the able address he had submitted for their consideration, and he was especially pleased to hear it since he had known Mr. Elliot for twenty years as a writer of letters in Indian newspapers upon useful subjects. Mr. Elliot in these letters had always endeavoured to point out to the Government various modes of carrying out improvements, and by himself explaining to the Natives how coffee, cinchona, &c., could be advantageously cultivated. He was glad to find Mr. Elliot still advocating measures for the improvement of the Native industries. One subject which had been alluded to was the tax upon salt. Now, his experience in India had demonstrated to him that salt was most valuable to the Natives. (Hear, hear.) He might say that it was almost as important to them as their life's blood. Without the salt which they earned so hardly, what would become of them and their cattle? And yet, while this article was so highly necessary to them, look what they had to pay for it! Six millions was something near the revenue reaped from salt. The Government were complaining that they were badly off for money, and that they could not afford this or the other thing; but this he thought could be altered by a change in some of the fiscal arrangements of India. He could not see why such an article as salt should not produce double what it does at the present time by stopping gradually the manufacture in India, and supplying it all from England by the Suez Canal, and so giving an impetus to trade. At present the salt consumed in India is made along the coast, and the industry occupies millions of people; the same people might find occupation were the salt imported from England in the process of distribution. In England at present there were ships in great numbers lying idle from want of a return freight, and he asked, why not modify the duties in India so as to utilize this carrying power in the exportation of salt from Cheshire to India? Then those same ships would all have return cargo, and come home laden with the valuable produce of India, and the exchange would be to the interests of the commerce of both countries. He would, therefore, urge the intro-

duction of a gradual change, and encourage the exportation of salt from England in preference to encouraging its production in India, believing that in the exchange of commodities the greatest mutual benefit would be obtained. In connection with the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, some of the papers had described the splendid cattle that were driven to the coast by the Brinjaries, and had remarked upon the large number of people engaged in the salt trade alone. This branch of industry, under easier conditions of taxation, would receive a stimulus, and these people would be engaged in carrying the salt and salt-fish up into the interior, and bringing down to the coast in exchange vast stores of grain to load the ships for their return voyage. Some of the finest grain in the world could be grown in India, but this branch of agricultural industry had not been encouraged as it deserved to be. Thirty years ago he endeavoured to direct public attention to this fact in a paper published in the *Calcutta Horticultural Journal*, but failed to secure for it any notice. He was, however, glad to say that at the present moment it was being proved, and large quantities of wheat would be exported from India. Only recently, at a meeting held at the Society of Arts, two Indian merchants stated that they had sent large quantities of wheat from India to England lately by the Suez Canal, and found it one of the most productive articles they could export to this country. Mr. Maitland, Mr. Fleming, and other gentlemen competent to offer an opinion, had also remarked that if the Suez Canal were useful for no other purpose than for the quick transport of wheat from India to England, it would be worth all its cost. He quite agreed with this, as, from his experience, he was convinced that the Punjab and Scinde alone could send enough wheat to supply the whole of Great Britain. Just at the present time the Hindus were gathering a large crop of wheat for the English market; but it was a great mistake that this source of supply had been neglected hitherto. What could be expected of a landlord Government which permitted such a waste of resources? In regard to other branches of industry, such as rice, cotton, &c., the action of the authorities needed inquiry and investigation. Any means of contributing to the information of the public with respect to the productions and industries of India was to him most welcome, and therefore he heartily thanked Mr. Elliot for the information he had given the meeting in his able opening address. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ZORN took the liberty of informing the last speaker that an attempt had been made to introduce salt from Cheshire into India. As a matter of fact, salt was imported into India as far back as thirty years ago; but in this, as in other commodities, merchants could not afford

to deal only for philanthropic motives. The first question that had to be asked was, "Will it pay?" It had been found that Cheshire salt exported to India did not pay; and considering the low cost of labour, it was, *primâ facie*, not likely that Cheshire salt could compete with Indian salt. He was afraid, however, that the tax upon salt weighed very heavily upon the consumption of the article.

Mr. W. TAYLER (who occupied the chair in the temporary absence of Sir George Campbell) here interposed, and observed that the meeting had somewhat digressed from the subject-matter of Mr. Elliot's address. Instead of discussing the question of Indian manufactures and the tariff as affecting English manufactured goods, the later speakers had directed their remarks to such articles as opium and salt. He therefore suggested that it would be advisable, if possible, to revert to the question. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ZORN, resuming, observed, with reference to some remarks that had pointed at the Manchester people, that the latter, in taking care of their own interests, were not worse sinners than any other mercantile bodies; and those who were not satisfied with their dealings ought, nevertheless, to approach them with due regard to their right to advocate the claims of the industry with which they were identified. The East India Association was in existence for the purpose of discussing the interests of India, which had no official representation in Parliament. The accusation brought forward by one speaker as to the unfairness of an inferior quality of Manchester goods being introduced into India, he could corroborate, as in the course of his experience he had frequently noticed that Manchester prints were imported as French prints. If the French manufacturer adopted the name of a Manchester merchant, his goods would be confiscated; but the English goods passing as French were permitted to go unchallenged. It was, therefore, desirable that a sharp look-out should be kept for the prevention of such transactions, in order that the good faith of the people of India should not be sacrificed to the interests of any manufacturers.

Mr. W. F. HALE desired to explain that in his remarks upon the doings of the Manchester merchants he was not alluding to the substitution of another name for English goods, but to the sizing, weight, and quality of the articles imported from England.

Mr. AHMED tendered his hearty thanks to Mr. Elliot, as the views taken by him were such as to meet with his full concurrence as a Native of India. He thought that the policy which Manchester had all along pursued towards India had been based upon a misunderstanding and a misconception of the circumstances of India. It seemed to him that the Manchester people had regarded India as an extraordinarily rich



country, out of which an enormous amount of money could be squeezed. This, he averred, was a mistake, and such a mistake that none but those who were practically unacquainted with the country would fall into it. That poverty had been fully discussed, for the returns made for the purposes of income-tax had revealed the fact that India was not so rich as outsiders supposed her to be. Accepting the fact of its poverty, it was well to look at what the growth of Indian industries had done towards its prosperity. Formerly there were certain industries among the Natives of India, and it was imagined that the introduction of railways would extend those industries. People thought that the increased facilities of communication would give an impetus to Native industries; but instead of that being the case, Native industries had almost died out, and had been succeeded by foreign industries. There is really very little now left to India of her former manufacturing industries; but he considered that for the development of what remained, as well as for the extension of recently introduced forms of industry, there ought to be some sort of protection in the shape of a duty imposed upon similar products coming from England. He had very frequently noticed that when deputations waited upon the English Government relative to the cotton duties, the Manchester merchants invariably contended that it would be for the good of India that the duty should be abolished, and in the name of the millions of India, they contended for the adoption of the principles of free trade. To put the case in other words, they always urged that a child in the art of manufacturing, such as India, could compete with a grown-up adept like England without any assistance. This figure he thought would illustrate the relative positions of India and Manchester; and to expect India to compete with Manchester would be as ridiculous as to expect a child to fight and conquer a grown-up man. Apart from this consideration, there were other reasons why the demands of Manchester should not be acceded to, and these were to be found by noting the action taken by other countries in Europe. Even countries or colonies connected with England maintained their industries by protective duties, and these, too, were countries in which the principles of free trade ought to have more weight than could be expected in India. He alluded particularly to Canada and Australia as English colonies; and turning from them to America, where the most democratic form of government obtained, it would be found that protective duties of from 25 to 30 per cent. were levied, with the sole purpose of maintaining the industries of the country and preventing competition. With such examples before them, it could not be unreasonable to demand some sort of protective tariff for India, to allow what remained of Native industries a fair chance of development, so as

to be able ultimately to compete with Manchester even on free trade principles. He considered that, with a view to encourage Native industries, the Government ought to establish in India industrial schools, mills, and workshops, for the purpose of instructing the Natives in the arts. If to the existing means of education in India there were added technical training colleges, with workshops where engineering and other kindred matters could be practically taught, much good would result. He thought that the Indian Government ought decidedly to take action in this direction; and if they did not care to meet the expense, he recommended them to utilize the endowment of Hajee Muhsen at Hooghly, now known as Hooghly College, for the purpose of a technical school such as that he had indicated. That course would be much more to the interests of India than that which was now adopted, in paying exorbitant salaries to different professors for teaching things that would be of no substantial good to the students or to the country. Reverting again to the question of competition between Manchester and India, the speaker said he had heard it urged that commerce should depend upon private enterprise, and not upon Government patronage. To that he answered by putting the question, "Why did the English Government use Indian funds to compile a work consisting of eighteen volumes, and to obtain hundreds of samples of articles of Indian manufacture for distribution in Manchester and in other places, in order that machinery might be made for the purpose of competing with the produce of the hand-loom of India?" If the Government could do all this for Manchester, why could they not do something similar for India, in providing the means of technical instruction, which would enable the Natives to take advantage of modern inventions and improvements as applied to manufactures? In conclusion, Mr. Ahmed expressed a hope that the Government, instead of listening further to the claims of Manchester, would rather apply its energies to the improvement of Native industry in India; and if there was any money that could be spared from the revenue of India, he trusted it would in the first place be used for the abolition or modification of the salt-tax, which pressed very hardly upon the Natives of India. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel NASSAU LEES said that the discussion up to the present had been all on one side. He had hoped that there would have been some gentlemen present to espouse the cause of Manchester. As none were present, he assumed that the "men of Manchester" were satisfied to allow judgment to go by default. Referring to the address and the gentleman who had read it, the speaker said he thought it was not a matter for congratulation that so many gentlemen were found who,

after service and experience in India, returned, like Mr. Elliot, full of zeal for Indian interests, but whose ardour was very soon damped by that lukewarmness in regard to the wants of the country which was somewhat prevalent generally in England. Mr. Elliot stood in a peculiar position, as he had for many years been subjected to the cold water of departmental indifference, but he had energetically resisted the shower-bath—(laughter)—and continuously and consistently advocated the interests of the Natives of India. He knew of no other person of whom this could be said, except, perhaps, Lord Stanley of Alderley, whose disinterested advocacy of the rights and interests of the people of India was beyond praise. While, however, he (Colonel Lees) concurred in the general praise which had been bestowed upon the address, he emphatically dissented from the remarks made with reference to Lord Salisbury. No person was more opposed to his lordship's policy in regard to the cotton duties than he (the speaker), but at the same time he was sure that no statesman ever stood higher in the opinion of the leading politicians of India—(hear, hear)—and it would be remembered that his nomination to the position he now occupied was received not only with approbation, but acclamation, throughout India. (Hear.) Lord Salisbury seemed to have the faculty of arriving, as it were, by intuition at a right estimate of fiscal and Government departmental requirements of India. If in this matter of dealing with Manchester on the one hand, and India on the other, his lordship had made a mistake, he scarcely considered that he deserved the severe censure passed upon him by Mr. Elliot, for, on the whole, he was inclined to coincide with Lord Salisbury, supposing the question to be one between the men of Manchester and the men of Bombay. But in reality the question was one that would depend entirely upon the general financial position of India—(hear, hear)—and it was upon this basis that the problem should be considered. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said the discussion had somewhat diverged from the point at which it started, but possibly the result might be attributed to the "unconscious cerebration" of which Mr. Elliot had spoken. (Laughter.) A great question such as that which was announced for the consideration of the meeting had not only a trunk and branches, but a number of side twigs, and these had been dealt with by those who had spoken, while the branches and boughs had to a large extent been left alone. He would observe, however, that the subject contained one fundamental principle, and pointed to one thing for which he for years, officially and unofficially, had laboured to obtain recognition—viz., the need for the industrial education of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) That in reality

lies at the root of successful mechanical enterprise, and it was a subject that he delighted to see revived once again, and it might with advantage have been dwelt upon more fully by the opener of the discussion. Mr. Elliot had remarked upon Lord Salisbury stepping clear of a puddle, and he (Mr. Tayler) could not but think Mr. Elliot had fallen into a small puddle himself by introducing in his address much concerning Manchester shortcomings and Lord Salisbury's shortcomings which had been better avoided. At the same time he did not consider there was anything like a personal attack upon the noble Marquis in the few facetious sentences referring to his action. (Hear, hear.) However, Lord Salisbury had found such a good advocate and defender in the Chairman, that he might fairly be left to carry off the laurels in the debate. He would remark in relation to this matter that it was of the greatest importance to the success of the East India Association that its members should avoid anything like political or party bias. (Hear, hear.) They were bound, of course, to take up such political questions as far as they related to the public interests of India, but still they must do so without exhibiting or encouraging any exhibition of party feeling. (Hear, hear.) Turning to the question as to the position of manufactures in India, the speaker said it was a somewhat difficult matter upon which to pronounce, for, like many other things in this mundane state, the *pros* and the *cons* were about equally balanced. In the present state of things, and having due regard to the manipulative dexterity and genius of the people of India, it was still evident that they were not competent to enter into a race with Manchester upon equal terms. Mills are going out to India, a revolution is in course of commencement, and, as in all Indian enterprises, Government assistance and encouragement would be of very great use. But while he thought it would be beneficial for the Government to assist in trade development, he confessed he had not studied the question sufficiently to pronounce upon it as a matter of policy. He therefore would confine himself to the question which appeared to him to be at the bottom of practical success in India—viz., the industrial education of the people. This was required to fit them for the duties of life, to teach them how to act as agriculturists, carpenters, blacksmiths, and artificers generally, and thus to qualify them to take part in the great commercial struggles of the world. His opinions on this subject, he was glad to know, were shared by their Chairman (Sir George Campbell), who had been a hearty advocate of the system which he (Mr. Tayler) had been for years seeking to establish. In the schools of India he had listened to thousands of little boys learning sensational poetry and romantic nonsense which would probably make them discontented with their lot, and eventually

there would be thrown upon the hands of the Government a vast number of youths disqualified for the work of life. 'This system ought to be superseded by one comprising technical training, which would insure practical results, and eventually enable the Natives to compete with the skill of Manchester. Having this question of industrial education before him, he heartily welcomed Mr. Elliot's address, but hoped that ere long the attention of the East India Association would be directed more particularly to the one great question of industrial training and development which he was convinced was essential to the material prosperity of British India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ELLIOT, by way of reply, observed that as life is short, and human nature susceptible of being "bored," he would not detain the meeting longer than to remark that he thought he had sufficiently guarded himself against saying anything to the prejudice of Lord Salisbury's character. In fact, to prevent his being charged with that, he took refuge in the common way of accounting for any action for which we cannot readily account—viz., by attributing the result to "unconscious cerebration." (Laughter.) He therefore begged to state that he did not for one moment impute motives; but the "puddle" was there, and somehow his lordship kept out of it. Mr. Tayler had made a reference to the form of the address, and he (Mr. Elliot) desired to say he had intended to say more concerning the manufactures of India, and had, indeed, written to India for information which, however, had not come to hand in time for use on the present occasion. At some future time he hoped some other member, or possibly himself, would supply the deficiencies of the present occasion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. TAYLER moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Elliot for his address.

The Rev. JAMES LONG seconded the motion, and remarked, that whilst travelling in Russia he had observed that the manufacturing system was being largely developed, and with eminently beneficial results, especially since the encouragement of manufactures tended to create a middle class between the peasants and the landlords, and so added to the stability of the country. There could be no doubt that similar results would attend the encouragement of industrial operations in India.

The motion having been agreed to, a similar compliment was accorded to the Chairman.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, in closing the meeting, said the discussion had been in many respects interesting; the only misfortune being that Manchester had not put in an appearance, and the verdict, therefore, had gone by default. Upon the last occasion that the subject

was discussed in his hearing, Manchester did put in an appearance, and somewhat strongly endeavoured to justify its views. The misfortune of these associations, however, was that, birds of a feather flocking together, they were too unanimous for the interests of India to advocate the Manchester side of the question. That day they had discussed it from their point of view, and had to thank Mr. Elliot for his interesting address. Had Manchester been represented, the meeting might have digressed into questions of protection or non-protection, and economical subjects of that sort, and really to no purpose, for, as he had previously remarked, the question was outside the sphere of possibilities while Indian Finance remained in its present position. Meanwhile they could put their shoulders to the wheel, and promote the interests of India by other means; and in no way could they do this more effectually than by following Mr. Tayler's idea of the industrial education of its people. They would thus improve the manufactures, the commerce, and the agriculture of the country, and this in turn would tend to the creation of a surplus revenue. Then, when possessed of a surplus revenue, the friends of India might invite Manchester to discuss the question of the distribution of the surplus; but until they obtained a surplus, it was hardly necessary to call upon Manchester to fight over the question.

The meeting then terminated.

*Poverty of India.*

## PART II.

PAPER READ BY MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, ON APRIL 27, 1876.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI read the following paper:—

As the first part of my paper (see p. 236) is already in your hands, I need not trouble you with a recapitulation to-day. I place further notes before you.

## PRICES.

We hear much about the general enormous rise of prices, and conclusions drawn therefrom that India is prosperous. My figures about the total production of the country are alone enough to show that there is no such thing as that India is a prosperous country. It does not produce enough for mere existence even, and the equilibrium is kept up by scanty subsistence, by gradual deterioration of physique, and destruction. No examination, therefore, of the import of bullion, or of rise of prices and wages, is necessary to prove the insufficiency of production for the maintenance of the whole population. When we have such direct positive proof of the poverty of the country, it should be useless to resort to, or depend upon, any indirect evidence or conclusions. But as there appears to me much misapprehension and hasty conclusion from a superficial examination of the phenomena of prices, wages, and bullion, I deem it necessary to say something upon these subjects. I shall consider each subject separately. High prices may occur from one of the three following causes:—

1. From a natural healthy development of foreign commerce, which brings to the country fair profits upon the exports of the country; or, in other words, the imports exceed the exports by a fair per-centage of profits, and thus add to the wealth and capital of the country.
2. From a quantity of money thrown into the country, not as the natural profits of foreign commerce, but for some special purpose independent of commercial profits, such as the railway and other loans of India expended in certain parts where the works are carried on, and where, therefore, a large collection of labour takes place requiring food that is not produced there; and on account of bad or imperfect communications occasioning a local and temporary rise in prices.
3. From scarcity of food or other necessities, either on account

of bad season or bad communications, or both; in other words, either there is not enough of food produced, or the plenty of one district cannot supply the deficiency of another, or both.

We may now see how each of these causes has operated. As to the first cause, it is clear that, so far from India adding any profits to its wealth from foreign commerce, not only does an amount equal to the whole profits of foreign commerce, including the whole of the opium revenue, go elsewhere, but even from the very produce of the country some 7,000,000*l.* more annually. This shows, then, that there is no increase of capital or wealth in the country, and, consequently, no such general rise in prices as to indicate any increase of prosperity. From want of proper communications, produce in provinces near the seaports is exported to foreign countries—not because the foreign countries give better prices than can be obtained in this country, but because, if not exported, the produce would simply perish. For instance, Bengal and Madras export rice at any reasonable prospect of profits, even though in some of the interior parts there may be scarcity, or even famine, as in the case of the North-west Provinces, Orissa, and Rajpootana.

The first cause, therefore, is not at all operative in India in raising prices; on the contrary, the constant drain diminishes capital, and thereby gradually and continuously diminishes the capability of the country even to keep up its absolutely necessary production. Besides the necessity of seeking foreign commerce on account of bad communications, there is a portion of the exports which is simply compulsory—I mean that portion which goes to England to pay for the political drain. So far, therefore, the alleged increase of prices in India does not arise from any natural addition to its wealth by means of a healthy and profitable foreign commerce. Then, the next thing to be examined is whether the different kinds of produce exported from British India are so exported because foreign countries offer more profitable markets for them—that is to say, offer greater prices than can be obtained in the country itself; thus indicating that, though prices have risen in the country itself, still higher prices are got from foreign countries. Suppose we find that Indian produce has been selling in foreign countries at about the same prices for the last fifteen years, what will be the inevitable conclusion? Either that, in the country itself, there is no great rise of prices, or that the people of India are such fools that, though there is an “enormous” rise in prices in their own country, they send their produce thousands of miles away—to get what? Not *higher* prices than can be got in the country itself, but sometimes much less! We may take the principal articles of export from India. The exceptional and



temporary rise in the price of cotton, and its temporary effect on some other produce, was owing to the American War; but that is gradually coming down to its former level; and when America once makes up its four or five million bales, India will have a hard struggle. The opening of the Suez Canal has been a great good fortune, or Indian cotton would in all likelihood have been driven out of the English market particularly, and perhaps from European markets also.

The following table will show how near the prices are returning to their old level before the American War (Parliamentary Return [c. 145] of 1870):—

AVERAGE PRICE PER CWT.											
Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1857 .....	2	8	8	1862 .....	6	5	9	1867 .....	3	2	10
1858 .....	2	10	7	1863 .....	8	18	11	1868 .....	3	12	8
1859 .....	2	5	10	1864 .....	8	9	9	1869 .....	4	5	8
1860* .....	1	17	0	1865 .....	6	5	7	1870 .....	3	5	6
1861 .....	2	17	5	1866 .....	4	12	0				

So far the rise in cotton is going; but, great as this rise has been, it has hardly reached the prices of former years, as will be seen hereafter. Leaving the exceptional prices of cotton during the cotton famine out of consideration, let us examine the most important articles of export; and if we find that these articles have fetched about the same price for nearly fifteen years past, there could not have been any normal general rise in the country itself of which the exporters could take advantage, and thereby prefer earning more profits by selling in the country itself than getting less by exporting to foreign parts.

Take *Coffee*.—The average prices in the United Kingdom (Parliamentary Return [c. 145] of 1870) are per cwt. :—

Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855.....	3	3	0	1860.....	3	18	2	1865.....	3	16	2
1856.....	3	11	8	1861.....	3	16	2	1866.....	3	16	4
1857.....	3	15	3	1862.....	3	18	8	1867.....	3	19	1
1858.....	3	11	7	1863.....	4	0	6	1868.....	3	6	1
1859.....	3	13	6	1864.....	3	9	8	1869.....	3	7	11
								1870.....	3	6	6
Average	3	11	0	Average	3	16	7	Average	3	12	0

This does not show any rise.

Take *Indigo*.

AVERAGE PRICE PER CWT.											
Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855.....	27	8	0	1861.....	37	8	7	1866.....	31	5	1
1856.....	30	11	4	1862.....	36	11	3	1867.....	35	17	6
1857.....	33	1	0	1863.....	28	4	7	1868.....	40	4	2
1858.....	35	18	0	1864.....	30	10	0	1869.....	38	2	6
1859.....	31	8	9	1865.....	31	7	2	1870.....	35	4	8
1860.....	33	13	11								

The average of first five years, 1855-59, is 31*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*; of 1860-

\* This year there was a large American crop.

64, 33*l*. 5*s*. 8*d*.; of 1865-70, 35*l*. 6*s*. 10*d*.—making a rise of 12 per cent. over the first five years. Now, this is an article in which India may be said to have a sort of monopoly, and yet there is virtually no rise from any increased demand. The average of the last six years is raised by the year 1868, but the quantity imported into the United Kingdom was in that year 2,000 cwts. less than in the previous year, and the scarcity gave a temporary high price.

Now take *Rice*.—This is the most important article; rise or fall in its price requires careful consideration. It is the alleged rise of price in this article which is held up as proving the prosperity of the country.

The average price of rice in the United Kingdom, after paying all charges and profits from India to arrival in England, is, per cwt. :—

Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.
1855 .....	14	6	1861 .....	12	8	1866 .....	13	1
1856 .....	10	6	1862 .....	11	10	1867 .....	14	3
1857 .....	11	3	1863 .....	11	11	1868 .....	12	2
1858 .....	8	10	1864 .....	11	2	1869 .....	10	8
1859 .....	10	9	1865 .....	12	4	1870 .....	10	11
1860 .....	13	0						

Averages of five years—1855-59, 11*s*. 2*d*.; 1860-64, 12*s*. 1½*d*.; 1865-70, 12*s*. 3*d*.

This does not show that there is any material rise any more than the varying wants of the country and the average fluctuations of all ordinary articles of commerce, taking also into consideration the effect of the American War during some of these years. Such are the prices paid in England for Indian rice during the past fifteen years, and yet India had three or four famines, and in the famine districts food could not be got to save life at any price. If the United Kingdom got Indian rice at the above steady price, how could there have been any real natural “enormous” rise of prices in India proving its prosperity? This simple fact is enough to show conclusively that if the United Kingdom could get its thousands of tons of Indian rice at such steady prices during the past fifteen years, there is no such thing as an enormous general healthy rise of prices throughout the country. Whatever partial local and temporary rise there has been in certain localities, has arisen, as will be seen hereafter, from partial local and temporary causes, and not from any increase of prosperity.

Take *Silk*.—The prices of silk are as follow :—

PRICE PER LB.								
Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.
1855.....	12	9	1860.....	20	2	1865 .....	23	6
1856.....	18	10	1861.....	16	10	1866 .....	22	0
1857.....	19	8	1862.....	18	8	1867.....	21	2
1858.....	17	8	1863.....	18	8	1868.....	23	8
1859.....	19	1	1864.....	18	5	1869.....	23	0
						1870.....	22	4
Average 17	7		Average 18	7		Average 22	7½	

This shows an apparent rise of 28 per cent. over the first five years, but the quantities imported in the years 1867, 1868, and 1869 were very small, being, in 1867, 2,469 lbs.; in 1868, 32,103 lbs.; in 1869, 17,845 lbs.; whereas in 1865, it is 183,224 lbs.; in 1866, 123,561 lbs.; and in 1870, 123,600 lbs. There is, then, a rise in the price of this article, only a scarcity rise. Besides, its fate hangs upon the China market, and its produce in India yet is too small to have any important effect on general prices in ordinary economic conditions, much less when all such little or large profit is not retained by the country at all. The total quantity of waste as well as raw silk exported from India to all foreign parts is about 1,500,000*l.* worth.

*Sugar*.—There are three or four qualities of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from India. I give below the price of middling as a fair representative of the bulk:—

## PRICE PER CWT.

Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855 .....	1	9	8	1861 .....	1	8	5	1866 .....	1	3	4
1856 .....	1	12	6	1862 .....	1	6	9	1867 .....	1	3	3
1857 .....	1	17	6	1863 .....	1	6	5	1868 .....	1	3	6
1858 .....	1	10	3	1864 .....	1	5	11	1869 .....	1	7	2
1859 .....	1	7	9	1865 .....	1	3	6	1870 .....	1	5	7
1860 .....	1	7	1								

The averages are—from 1855-59, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; 1860-64, 1*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; and 1865-70, 1*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* There is, then, an actual decline, and it cannot, therefore, be expected that there was a rise in India notwithstanding.

*Linseed*.—Average prices, as follows, per quarter:—

Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855... 3	11	6		1860... 2	12	9		1865... 3	0	5	
1856... 2	18	0		1861... 2	15	10		1866... 3	8	11	
1857... 3	2	0		1862... 3	4	7		1867... 3	6	9	
1858... 2	15	1		1863... 3	4	7		1868... 3	1	8	
1859... 2	9	9		1864... 2	19	7		1869... 2	18	9	
								1870... 2	19	7	
Average 2	19	3		Average 2	19	6		Average 3	2	8	

This shows a rise of about 5 per cent., which is nothing when allowance is made for the temporary effect of the American War from 1861, and the prices have latterly gone down again to the level of the average, 1855-59.

*Rapeseed* per quarter:—

Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855 .....	3	9	8	1861 .....	2	19	6	1866 .....	2	17	11
1856 .....	2	18	6	1862 .....	3	7	4	1867 .....	2	12	6
1857 .....	3	1	0	1863 .....	2	19	6	1868 .....	2	11	4
1858 .....	2	13	4	1864 .....	2	16	11	1869 .....	2	18	11
1859 .....	2	4	8	1865 .....	3	5	7	1870 .....	3	4	11
1860 .....	2	16	11								

This also shows the temporary effect of the American War, and hardly

any rise, the averages being—1855-59, 2*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* ; 1860-64, 3*l.* ; and 1865-70, 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

*Wool*.—Average price per lb. :—

Years.		Years.		Years.	
1855.....	8½ <i>d.</i>	1861.....	7¾ <i>d.</i>	1866.....	9½ <i>d.</i>
1856.....	9	1862.....	10	1867.....	7¾
1857.....	8¾	1863.....	11½	1868.....	7¾
1858.....	6¾	1864.....	11½	1869.....	7½
1859.....	7¾	1865.....	11½	1870.....	7½
1860.....	8½				

The temporary effect of the American War is clearly to be seen in the above prices, and latterly they are getting down again to their old level.

*Indian Tea*.—Average price per lb. :—

Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.
1856 .....	2	4¾	1861 .....	1	9½	1866 .....	1	11½
1857 .....	2	1¼	1862 .....	1	9	1867 .....	1	9
1858 .....	2	0	1863 .....	1	11¾	1868 .....	1	9½
1859 .....	2	0	1864 .....	2	3	1869 .....	1	8¾
1860 .....	1	9	1865 .....	2	3¼	1870 .....	1	9

Here again is a decline.

I have given above the most important articles of export, and it cannot be concluded from the above figures that prices have increased in India to any material extent, much less “enormously.” The necessary causes for a healthy rise do not exist; the effect, therefore, is only a dream. On the contrary, the causes to diminish capital and labour are unceasingly at work, and the consequence can only be increased poverty instead of prosperity.

Cause No. 2, stated by me at the commencement of this paper, will partly account for such rise as has actually taken place in some parts of India, and has misled many persons to the conclusion of a general rise and increased prosperity.

During the last twenty years something like 82,000,000*l.* (Railway Report, 1869) have been sent to India for railway works, out of which some 26,000,000*l.* are spent in England for stores, &c., and about 55,000,000*l.* remitted to India to be spent here. This amount has been spent in certain parts, with the effect of raising prices there in two ways. Large numbers of labourers are collected in such places, and, to a great extent, agricultural labour is diminished in their neighbourhood, the want of good communication preventing other parts from supplying the demand.

The result is that less food is produced and more mouths to feed, and, with the labourers well paid, a temporary and local rise of prices is the inevitable consequence. On looking over the maps, and examining the prices given in the tables of Administration Reports, it will be easily seen that in every Presidency, in good seasons, the localities of high

prices have been those only where there have been large public works going on. For instance, in the Central Provinces, in the year 1867-8, when there was an average good season, the districts in which the price of rice was highest were—Hoshungabad, Rs. 5 per maund; Baitool, Rs. 4 per maund; Nursingpore, Rs. 3-12 per maund; Jubbulpore, Rs. 3-12 per maund; Nagpore, Rs. 3-8 per maund; and Saugur, Rs. 3-9 per maund; while the lowest prices were—Raipore and Belaspore, Re. 1 per maund; Sumbulpore, Rs. 1-2; Balaghaut, Rs. 2; Bhandara, Rs. 2; Chindwara, Rs. 1-8. Now, the places having the highest prices are almost all those along, or in the neighbourhood of, railway lines, or carrying on some public works; and those with lowest prices are away from the lines, &c. In 1868-69, the range of prices is about the same, though higher on account of bad season, Hoshungabad being Rs. 8 and Raipore Rs. 2; and through the season being unequal in different parts, there is some corresponding divergence from the preceding year.

Take the *Madras Presidency*.—The districts with highest prices in 1867-68 are:—

Cuddapah .....	Rs. 492 per garce.*
Madura .....	„ 477 „
Coimbatore .....	„ 474 „
Bellary .....	„ 469 „

The districts with lowest prices are—

Vizagapatam .....	Rs. 203 per garce.
Godavery .....	„ 222 „
Ganjam .....	„ 232 „
South Canara .....	„ 308 „

Almost all the high-price districts are on the railway line, or have some public works. The districts of the lowest prices are away from the line. In the Godavery district I do not know how far irrigation has helped to produce abundance.

Take the *Punjab* for June, 1868-69.—The report gives prices for the following districts only:—

Delhi .....	Wheat, 26 seers or 52 lbs. per Re. 1.
Umballa .....	„ „ 48 „ „ „
Sealkote .....	„ „ 38 „ „ „
Lahore .....	„ „ 34 „ „ „
Multan .....	„ „ 34 „ „ „
Peshawur .....	„ „ 30 „ „ „

Now, the first three are those where railways are finished, the last three are those where new lines are being constructed.

In the *North-west Provinces*.—For the month of June, 1868 (I have taken this month in which there was no scarcity; the months after, prices gradually rose to famine prices)—

\* Garce = 9,256 lbs. (Parliamentary Return 362 of 1853).

Meerut.....	27 seers	8 chittacks, or 55 lbs. per	Rs. 1.
Saharunpore ...	25 „	14 „	53 „ nearly „
Bareilly .....	25 „	.....	50 „
Moradabad ...	} 24 „	.....	48 „ „ „
Muttra.....			
Agra.....	} 22 „	.....	44 „ „ „
Cawnpore .....			
Benares .....	18 „	4 chittacks	36½ „ „ „
Allahabad .....	17 „	.....	34 „ „ „
Mirzapore .....	17 „	.....	34 „ „ „
Ajmere .....	16 „	.....	32 „ „ „

The East Indian Railway being finished, the irrigation works now going on are beginning to tell ; the Agra Canal raising prices at Agra and Muttra.

Cawnpore and the places mentioned after it have had railway works in progress about them. In [these provinces, besides railways, there is public works expenditure from Imperial funds close upon a crore of rupees during 1868-69, greater part of which is spent in places where prices are high.

In the *Bombay Presidency*.—What with cotton money lately poured in, and perhaps not quite re-drained yet, and large railway works going on for some time past, prices are comparatively higher than in all the other parts of India, but most so only where railway works and cotton combined, such as all such places on the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India line as Surat, Broach, Kaira, Ahmedabad, &c., or on the G. I. P. line, either northward or southward. Belgaum and Dharwar, not being on a line, have not high prices.

All the very high prices in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1863 (the year of the inquiry of the Price Commission) are things of the past. For instance, in the Report of the Commission, the prices given for the town of Belgaum for November, 1863, are (page 32)—

SEERS (OF 80 TOLAS OR 2 LBS.) PER RUPEE.			
	14th Nov.		21st Nov.
Coarse Rice .....	8 seers	.....	6 seers.
Bajri .....	10 „	.....	7 „
Jowari .....	9½ „	.....	7 „

Contrast these with the prices in 1867-1868 :—

	Nov., 1867.		Nov., 1868.
2nd sort Rice .....	14·40 seers	.....	13·9 seers.
Bajri .....	24 „	.....	26 „
Jowari ..	28 „	.....	35 „

*In Bengal*.—All places which are cheapest in 1868 are distant from the railway lines,—Tipperah, Purneah, Cuttack, Puri, Dacca, Maunblum. Even in some places where the railway line has passed, the prices are not so high—as they are, I think, rice-producing districts—such as Rajmahal and Bankurah. As in other parts of India, it will be

found that in Bengal also prices rose for a time where railway and other public works were building. These facts show that railway capital, and money for other public works, raised prices temporarily in certain localities.

I must not be misunderstood, however. I do not mean to complain of any such temporary effect produced during the prosecution of such public works as railways, roads, canals, or irrigation works, or any work of reproduction or saving. My object is only to show that the statement often made, that India is prosperous and happy because prices have risen, is a conclusion not warranted by actual facts; and that any partial, local, or temporary rise in prices is attributable to the temporary and local expenditure of railway and other loans, or of Imperial and local funds on public works.

So far I have shown that any rise that has taken place has been only local and temporary, as long as railways or public works were building there. I shall now show more directly how, in every province as it came under the British rule, prices went down, as the natural consequence of the drain setting in under the new system, and that there has not been a general rise of prices.

Take *Madras*.—Return 362 of 1853 gives “the average price per cwt. of Munghi, 2nd sort, in the month of January, 1813,” as 7s. 6½d. to 9s. 8d., and Bengal table-rice 14s. 0½d. After this, Madras kept sinking, till, in 1852, there is 3s. to 3s. 6¾d. per cwt., and the Board of Revenue felt it necessary to inquire into “the general decline of prices, and to find out any general measures of relief” to meet falling prices. (*Madras Selections*, No. XXXI. of 1856, page 1.) This selection gives prices from almost all districts of Madras, and the general result is that there is a continuous fall in prices (excepting scarcity years) from the commencement of the century to 1852, the year of the reports. Then, further on, what are the prices now in the first half of March, 1873?

RICE (1ST SORT).

Present fortnight... 12·4 seers or 27·28 lbs.  
Past                    ,,     ... 12·4     ,,

RICE (COMMON).

Present fortnight... 15·6 seers or 34·32 lbs.  
Past                    ,,     ... 13·9     ,,     30·8     ,,

So that best sort is about 8s. 2½d. per cwt.; common sort, 6s. 6½d. to 7s. 4d. per cwt.—(*Indian Gazette*, 5th April, 1873.)

1 seer = 2·2 lbs.

This is the only number of the *Indian Gazette* I have come across. Again, the average price of Madras rice for the year 1868 in the United Kingdom, after paying for freight, insurance, commission, profits, and all other charges from Madras to arrival in that country, was 9s. 8d. per cwt. (*Trade Returns*, 1868), while the price for January, 1813, given above, is 8s. 2½d. in Madras itself. Or, let us take the export price in

the ports of the Madras Presidency. The export price of cargo rice in the ports of the Madras Presidency, according to the price-currents of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, in the year 1867, is put down uniformly in the price tables at Rs. 6 per bag of 16½ lbs., or two Indian maunds; but in the remarks in which precise quotations are given, the price ranges from Rs. 3-15 to Rs. 6-2. Rs. 6, though a higher price than the average for a bag of 16½ lbs., is equal to 8s. 2d. per cwt.; and even this price, though not higher than that of 1813, was owing to bad season and short crop; and certainly prices consequent upon bad seasons are not an indication of prosperity. In the year 1868, the season being average good, the price quoted for cargo rice is Rs. 3-15 per bag. Now and then, in the remarks, higher prices are quoted, but Rs. 4 will be quite an approximate average. Rs. 4 per bag is nearly 5s. 6d. per cwt. During 1869 the same Rs. 3-15 is the general quotation; but the season of 1869 not being good, prices went up in 1870 to Rs. 5-8, with an average of about Rs. 5, or about 6s. 10d. per cwt. Thus, then, there is no material rise in price in the Madras Presidency compared with the commencement of this century. The subsequent fall made the poor people wretched. Government inquired and reduced the assessment, which, with expenditure on railways, &c., gave some little relief. But the depression is not yet got over. On the contrary, the Material and Moral Progress Report for 1869 (Parliamentary Return [c. 213 of 1870], page 71) tells us that "prices in Madras have been falling continuously," and my impression is that they so still continue.

*Bengal.*—The Parliamentary Return 362 of 1853 gives the prices at Calcutta from 1792 only (and that is stated to be a year of famine), when there was already about that period much depression by the action of the Company's rule. I cannot get in this return earlier prices of the time of the Native rule to make a fair comparison. For 1813 the prices given in the then depressed condition are from 2s. 8½d. to 3s. 7d. A comparison with this depression of the present prices is, of course, not fair. In 1832 Patna rice is quoted at 7s. 5½d. per cwt., and Patchery at 7s. 1½d. Now, the best sort of rice of Patna in the first half of March, 1873, is quoted 21-50 seers, or 43 lbs., per rupee, or about 5s. 1½d. per cwt. In 1852 the above return quotes Patna at 5s. 4½d. per cwt. Colonel Baird Smith, in his Famine Report (Parliamentary Return 29 of 1862, page 55) quotes as follows the ordinary prices of grain, &c., "from an official statement prepared from authentic documents by the Fiscal of Chinsura" at that station between the years 1770 and 1813 (as given in "Gleanings in Science," vol. i., page 369, 1829): Rice, best sort, 28 seers per rupee; coarse sort, 40 seers per rupee. The same statement gives prices for the year 1803 also, for ordinary rice, at 40 seers per



rupee (page 56). And in the *Bengal Government Gazette* for the year 1867-68 it will be found that, in some places in Bengal, the ordinary price of cheapest sort of rice is even then between 40 and 50 seers per rupee (this seer being 2 lbs.) So we have the same story as Madras. Bengal first sank, and, helped by a permanent settlement, by the railway loan, cotton, &c., again got over the depression to a certain extent.

*Bombay*.—The same Return, 362 of 1853, gives the average price of rice between the highest and lowest prices of the year 1812-13 as 15s. 4½d. per cwt. This price goes on declining to about 3s. 5d. to 7s. 6¾d. in 1852, and what is it now in the first half of March of 1873 (*Indian Gazette*, 5th April, 1873, page 448), after all favourable circumstances of railways and other public works, some of them still going on, cotton-wealth, &c.?

#### RICE (BEST SORT).

Present fortnight .....	7.4 seers = 16.28 lbs., less than 14s. per cwt.
Previous „ .....	6.8 „ = 15 „ „ 15s. „
Rice (common) .....	10 „ = 22 „ „ 10s. „

The average between the highest and lowest prices will be about 12s. 6d. per cwt., when in 1812-13 this is 15s. 4½d.

In the report of the Indapore re-settlement (*Bombay Selections*, cvii., New Series, pages 118 and 71), the price of jowari is given from 1809 to 1865-66 :—

Years.	Pucca Seers per Rupee.	Years.	Pucca Seers per Rupee.
February, 1809.....	24	April, 1824.....	36¾
„ 1810.....	24	„ 1825.....	12½
„ 1811.....	22	February, 1826.....	44
„ 1812.....	25½	„ 1827.....	64
„ 1813.....	27	„ 1828.....	32
March, 1814.....	28	„ 1829.....	80
February, 1815.....	33½	„ 1830.....	46
„ 1816.....	26	May, 1831.....	40
April, 1817.....	48½	February, 1832.....	60
February, 1818.....	24	„ 1833.....	23
„ 1819.....	17	„ 1834.....	46
„ 1820.....	19½	„ 1835.....	48
March, 1821.....	32	„ 1836.....	38
„ 1822.....	32	„ 1837.....	66
„ 1823.....	32		

After giving these prices, Lieutenant A. Nash remarks: “This table is chiefly interesting as showing the gradual diminution in the price of corn from the days of the Peishwas to our own. By comparing the prices at the commencement with those at the end of the table, and then reading the list over, this circumstance will become very apparent.”

About the year 1836-37, when prices had gone down very low, the

Survey Settlement commenced, and the prices subsequently are given for Indapore as follows:—

Years.	Seers per Rupee.	Years.	Seers per Rupee.	Years.	Seers per Rupee.
1836-37 .....	43	1846-47 .....	15	1856-57 .....	32
1837-38 .....	36	1847-48 .....	48	1857-58 .....	39
1838-39 .....	67	1848-49 .....	72	1858-59 .....	32
1839-40 .....	44	1849-50 .....	72	1859-60 .....	39
1840-41 .....	64	1850-51 .....	38	1860-61 .....	33
1841-42 .....	56	1851-52 .....	40	1861-62 .....	27
1842-43 .....	68	1852-53 .....	56	1862-63 .....	16
1843-44 .....	72	1853-54 .....	56	1863-64 .....	13
1844-45 .....	60	1854-55 .....	29	1864-65 .....	16
1845-46 .....	36	1855-56 .....	32	1865-66 .....	18

Now, from the year of the Mutiny, followed by the cotton famine, the times were exceptional, so that the prices in 1856, or about that period, can only be considered normal, and that is about 32 seers, while in 1809-13 about 25 seers. Now in 1867-68 the average from November, 1867, to September, 1868, for Ahmednuggur (*Bombay Government Gazette Price-list*) is about  $24\frac{1}{2}$  seers.

Thus, then, it is the old story. From the time of the Peishwas, prices kept going down under the British rule till, with the aid of railway loans, cotton windfall, &c., they have laboured up again, with a tendency to relapse.

I take the following figures from the Price Commission Report of Bombay (Finance Committee's Report of 1871, page 617). I take jowari as the chief grain of the Presidency:—

TOLAS PER RUPEE.			
Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1824 .....	1,892	2,480	2,560
1825 .....	1,548	2,600	1,840
1826 .....	3,040	2,200	3,240
1827 .....	3,268	2,800	3,600
1828 .....	2,752	2,640	4,000
1829 .....	3,440	4,200	4,800

Instead of quoting here the whole table, which is already published in the first report of the Finance Committee (page 617), I take six years from 1850 to 1855:—

TOLAS PER RUPEE.			
Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1850 .....	3,056	4,240	3,520
1851 .....	3,440	4,560	4,320
1852 .....	3,440	3,280	2,800
1853 .....	4,128	3,200	2,800
1854 .....	2,504	3,040	3,400
1855 .....	2,432	2,540	4,520

Even taking the rough average, without consideration of quantities, in each year, the latter six years are lower than the former. It is only about and after 1857 that prices rose under exceptional and temporary

circumstances—the Mutiny and the American War, aided by the expenditure on railways, &c. After the American War, prices have commenced falling. Contrast the prices in 1863 with those of 1867-68 for the same places—Poona, Belgaum, and Ahmedabad (I take the rough averages from the monthly prices given in the *Bombay Government Gazette* for 1867-68):—

## TOLAS PER RUPEE.

Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1863 .....	1,120 .....	720 .....	880 .....
1867-68 .. .....	1,786 .....	2,633 .....	1,180 .....

For 1868 and 1869: This year, except in the southern part of the Southern Division, was a bad season, and the Bombay Administration Report says that the distress in two districts, Poona and Ahmednuggur, became “so great that it became necessary to afford relief to the labouring poor by undertaking works of public utility.” In the Northern Division, in Ahmedabad, Kaira, and the Panch Mahals, “the scanty rains of June and July were followed by severe floods in August, which were succeeded by drought. In Khandeish there was an entire failure of the later rains in some talookas.” In some talookas, with no rain, “there were no crops to watch, and no harvest to reap.” In Khandeish, also, relief works had become necessary, as the effects of scarcity were heightened by immigration from Rajpootana. Such was the generally unfavourable character of the season, and yet the rough average of retail prices from the *Bombay Government Gazette* is as follows for the same three places:—

## TOLAS OF JOWARI PER RUPEE.

	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
Nov. to Oct., 1868-69 .....	1,227 .....	2,100 .....	930 .....

(lower than those of 1863.)

I may just say a word here about the Price Commission Report of Bombay of 1864, to which I have referred above, and from which Sir Bartle Frere has made up his statement, embodied in the first report of the Finance Committee: that all the tables given in it, as averages either of a number of years or of a number of places, are worthless for any correct and practical conclusions with regard to the actual change in prices or the actual condition of the people; because in these averages, as is generally done, no regard, I think, is had for the different quantities of produce in different years or different places. This remark applies, as I have already said, to all averages taken on the wrong principle of adding up prices and dividing by the number of the prices.

Take *Cotton*.—I cannot get a list of prices in India, but the prices in Liverpool may be taken as a sufficient index of the changes in India.

Dr. J. Forbes Royle, in his "Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India" (1851), gives before the title-page a diagram of the prices and quantity of American and Indian cotton imported into the United Kingdom from the year 1806 to 1848. The prices of Indian cotton in Liverpool in 1806 is  $16\frac{1}{2}$ d., in 1807  $15\frac{1}{4}$ d. In 1808 it went up to 20d., and then declined, till in 1811 it touched 12d. It rose again, till in 1814 it went up to 21d. It had subsequently various fluctuations, till in 1832 it just touched  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., but again continued to be above till 1840 with an average above 6d. It subsequently continued at a low average of about 4d., and would have remained so till this day, or perhaps gone out of the English market altogether, as was very nearly the case in 1860, but for the American War, which sent it up. Now, looking at the figures given above, it will be seen that, now that the temporary impulse of the American War is over, cotton is fast sinking again, and we can no longer expect to see again that high curve of the first quarter of the present century ranging from 7d. to 21d. The Suez Canal opening direct communication with European ports, has only saved the Indian cotton trade from perishing altogether. The Administration Report of 1871-72 gives a distressing picture of the season over nearly the whole of the Presidency, and of the inability of the people to stand it; and are the prices of such years a thing to be glad about, and to be taken in averages of a rise?

*The Central Provinces.*—In the Central Provinces the average price of rice, as I have pointed out before, for the year 1867-68—a year of average good season—is Rs. 1-8 per maund of 80 lbs., not a high price certainly; and if these be an "enormous" rise in former prices, what wretched prices must they have been before! I have not materials for comparison with prices before the British rule.

Of the *North-west Provinces* I have not come across sufficient materials to make a fair comparison, but, from what data I have, I feel that the conclusions as to these Provinces will be similar to those concerning other parts of India.

As an imperfect indication, I may refer to the table given in Colonel Baird Smith's report of prices in 1860, and those of 1868-69 given in the Administration Report. Both years have nearly the same common features,—in 1860, in July and August, scarcity prices; in 1868-69, latter part of the year of scarcity. On a comparison, the prices of 1868-69 are, if anything, something lower on the whole, except at Allahabad and Cawnpore, where railway works are in progress. I give this comparison below.

## PRICES OF FINE WHEAT AT THE UNDERMENTIONED PLACES.

*Seers per Rupee.*

At the end of		Saharunpore.	Meerut.	Allypore.	Cawnpore.	Allahabad.	Muttra.	Agra.
May,	1860 ..	26-13	22-8	19	25	24-1	21-12	17 8
	1868 ...	25-14	27	...	23	18	...	23
June,	1860 ...	25-12	20	18	23	22-8	19	18
	1868 .	25-14	27-8	...	22	17	24	24
July,	1860 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(missing.)								
	1868 ...	23-11	26-8	...	21	17-8	24	23
August,	1860 ...	11-12	11-8	12-4	18	21-4	9-12	10
	1868 ...	18-4	22	...	17	15	18	19-8
September,	1860 ...	13-2	11-8	10-8	17	20	9	9-12
	1868 ...	11-13	11-4	...	16	15	16-2	14
October,	1860 ...	9-9	9-8	11-4	17	18-12	10-12	11
	1868 ...	12-15	17-12	...	...	...	...	...

This really does not show any enormous rise during the nine years which of all others are supposed to have raised prices most.

Take the *Punjab*.—The prices of wheat in Lahore are (Report of Punjab, 1850-51, page 74) as follows:—

Years.	Lbs. per Rupee.	Years.	Lbs. per Rupee.
1844.....	45	1848.....	54
1845.....	46	1849.....	38
1846.....	39½	1850.....	43½
1847.....	46		

Mr. John (now Lord) Lawrence repeats, in his Report of 1855-56 (page 28), that, for ten years up to 1850-51, wheat was Rs. 2 per maund of 82 lbs.—*i.e.*, during the Native rule, ten years previous to annexation, the price was 41 lbs. per rupee. Now the Administration Report for 1855-56 (Government of India Selection, No. XVIII. of 1856) gives the following table:—

## AVERAGE PRICES.

For Ten Years up to 1850-51. Wheat, Rs. 2 per Maund of 82 lbs.

1851-52 .....	Rs. 1 per maund.
1852-53 .....	„ 1 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>6</sub> „
1853-54 .....	„ 1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>6</sub> „
1854-55 .....	„ 1 „
1855-56 .....	„ 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub> „

This table shows how prices fell after the annexation. Assessments were revised and lowered, railway and other public works created demand for labour, and another additional and very important element operated, which, in the words of Sir R. Temple, is this: “But within the last year, the Native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid to

"them and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize, property, and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all these is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

Now, the prices after all such favourable circumstances, even as late as 1867-68, are about the same as they were in 1844-47—about 34lbs. to 46 lbs. per rupee. In 1868-69 the prices are higher on account of bad season.

I trust I have made it clear that the so-called rise in prices is only a pulling up from the depth they had sunk into under the natural economic effect of the British rule, by the temporary help of the railway and other loans, and by the windfall of the high cotton prices for a short period—so that India got back a little of its lost blood, though the greater portion of it was borrowed.

But, among the causes of the occasional rise in prices, and whose effects are indiscriminately mixed up in the averages, there is one which no person who gives the slightest consideration to it will regard as a matter for congratulation. Besides the public works expenditure causing high prices locally, the additional cause to which I allude is scarcity and bad season. Such rise will not certainly be regarded by anybody as a sign of prosperity, but calculation of averages often includes these scarcity prices, and the results and conclusions are mischievous, in leading to wrong practical action. For instance, take the Central Provinces. The average price of rice for all the districts is Rs. 1-8 per maund for 1867-68, while in 1868-69 it is Rs. 4-4-9 per maund, and this is entirely owing to a bad season. But there are writers who do not, or would not, see the bad season; they see only the high prices, and clamour prosperity and for increased assessments.

In the North-west Provinces the price of wheat is given, say, in Saharunpore above 50 lbs. per rupee in June, 1868, and in December, 1868, it rises to as much as 20 lbs. per rupee. I give a few more figures from the Report of 1868-69:—

	April, 1868.			Sept., 1868.		
	Seers. Chittacks.			Seers. Chittacks.		
Meerut .....	26	0	.....	11	4	
Moradabad.....	26	10	.....	13	7	
Bareilly .....	25	10	.....	15	5	
Muttra .....	24	0	.....	16	2	
Agra .....	23	0	.....	14	0	

So, are these places more prosperous in September than in April, when they are, in fact, suffering from near famine prices?

Again, for 1871-72 (Administration Report for 1871-72, pages 1 and

2), both the *kharij* (autumn crop) and *rabi* (spring crop) had been short, and the consequence was rise in prices. Is such rise a healthy sign of prosperity?

In Madras the price of cargo rice is, all throughout in 1868-69, about Rs. 3-15 per bag, and by the end of July, 1870, it goes up to Rs. 5-10, owing to bad season.

The comparative high prices of 1865 to 1867 were owing to bad season; 1867-68, a good season, brought them down. Bad season again, and a rise and continuous fall since 1870. Return No. 335 of 1867 on the Orissa famine gives a list of prices rising many times, in the time of various famines; and are these prices of prosperity? Leaving extreme cases of past famine alone, let us take present times.

*Punjab*.—The Administration Report for 1868-69 says (page 101): “Appendix III. E 1 shows that food was cheaper in June, 1868, than “during the preceding year, but in January, 1869, prices had risen “to famine rates, in consequence of the drought that prevailed during “the intervening months.” In January, 1869, wheat was selling at Delhi at  $11\frac{1}{4}$  seers ( $22\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.) per rupee, and in the other districts specified in the return as follows:—

Umballa .....	$9\frac{1}{4}$ seers.
Lahore.....	$9\frac{3}{4}$ „
Sealkote .....	$10\frac{3}{4}$ „
Multan .....	$11\frac{1}{4}$ „
Peshawur ... ..	$14\frac{3}{4}$ „

Now, the prices in the above places in January and June, 1868, were—

	January.		June.
Delhi .....	25 seers.	.....	26 seers.
Umballa .....	$20\frac{1}{4}$ „	.....	24 „
Lahore .....	17 „	.....	18 „
Sealkote .....	16 „	.....	19 „
Multan .....	$13\frac{3}{4}$ „	.....	17 „
Peshawur .....	15 „	.....	$20\frac{1}{2}$ „

So the prices are more than doubled in January, 1869. And this unfortunate state continues, after a little relief.

Here is the summary of the table in the Report for 1869-70 (page 95):—

	June 1, 1868.	Jan. 1, 1869.	June 1, 1869.	1 Jan., 1870.	
	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	
Delhi.....	26	$11\frac{1}{4}$	15	9	Prices in Seers of 2 lbs. per Rupee.
Umballa .....	24	$9\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{4}$	9	
Lahore .....	18	$9\frac{3}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{2}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$	
Sealkote .....	19	$10\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{3}{4}$	
Multan .....	17	$11\frac{1}{4}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$9\frac{7}{8}$	
Peshawur.....	$20\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$	$17\frac{7}{8}$	$17\frac{1}{4}$	

To sum up,—the course of prices during the last two years has been, if anything, downward, except in places of drought or famine, or new

public works; and all my remarks based upon 1867-68-69 will, I think, derive greater force from the statistics of the past two years.

I trust I have proved that there has been no general healthy rise of prices in any part of India from the time of its acquisition by the British. On the contrary, there has been continuous depression, till the railway loans, &c., and cotton money revived it a little, and that even temporarily and locally, from its extreme previous illness; and that very often the so-called high prices are the result of misfortune, of scarcity, rather than of increased prosperity.

It will tax the ability of Indian statesmen much, and will require a great change in the policy of the British rule, before India will see prosperity, or even rise above its absolute wants.

#### WAGES.

It is alleged that there is great rise in wages, and that, therefore, India is increasing in prosperity. Almost all remarks applied to prices will do for this. The rise is only when railway and other works have gone on, and is only local and temporary. In other parts there is no material alteration.

With regard to *Bengal*, there is the same difficulty as in the case of prices—that I cannot get earlier wages than 1790-91, which were depressed times. I find for the year 1830-31 the daily wages of a coolie were on zemindari estate two annas in the Collectorates of Dinapore, Bakergunge, Dacca, 24-Pergunnahs, Murshedabad, in the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, Barughati (Return No. 362 of 1853).

Now, in the year 1866-67, the daily wages of unskilled labour in several districts of Bengal, where even public works were going on, were as follows:—

	A.	P.			A.	P.
1st Division Grand Trunk road			Purneah	Division	2	6
Division .....	2	6	Bhagulpore	"	2	6
2nd ditto .....	2	0	Behrampore	"	2	6
Patna Branch Road Division ..	2	0	Dinapore	"	1	6
Barrakar Division .....	2	2	Ramghur	"	2 to	1 6
Tirhoot "	1	6	24-Pergunnah	"	2	6
Behar Road "	2	0	Chittagong	"	2	6
Barrackpore "	2	8	Burdwan	"	2	6

In some divisions it is as high as four annas, but the general rate is as above, and it is the rates paid by the Public Works Department. So the general average rate of wages of a coolie on zemindari estates, I think, cannot be much above two annas a-day—just what it was forty years ago. I have obtained the above figures from the Public Works Department through a friend in Calcutta.

*Bombay*.—Sir Bartle Frere has given a table from the Price Com-



mission Report of 1864, of Bombay, of the monthly wages of a coolie or common labourer (Finance Committee, First Report, page 616). On examining this table (which I do not repeat here), it will be seen that there is hardly a rise in wages worth mentioning between the average of 1824-29 and 1850-59, the intervening period having some depression. It was after 1859, as in the case of prices and from same causes (Mutiny, railways, and cotton), that wages rose suddenly. But that they are falling again will be evident from what is passing in Bombay itself; as being the centre of the greatest activity, where large public works are still going on, one would hardly expect a fall. I obtained the following figures from the office of one of the Executive Engineers, representing the wages paid by the Public Works Department. The following rates were current during the last six years in Bombay (the letter is dated 11th June, 1872):—

Years.	Wages of Biggari per diem.			Wages of Women.			Wages of Boys.		
	A.	P.		A.	P.		A.	P.	
1867-68 .....	6	0	...	4	0	...	3	0	...
1868-69 .....	6	0	...	4	0	...	3	0	...
1869-70 .....	5	0	...	3	6	...	2	4	...
1870-71 .....	5	0	...	3	0	...	2	4	...
1871-72 .....	5	0	...	3	0	...	2	4	...

This is a fall from 1868, when in Bombay the maximum was Rs. 13-8 per month, and minimum Rs. 7-12 per month, or 7 annas and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pies per diem and 4 annas and  $1\frac{2}{3}$  pies per diem respectively. Now, had large public buildings not been building in Bombay, those wages would have gone much lower than given in the tables above. I am not aware how the wages are during 1872 and 1873, but my impression is that they are lower, and will be again down, after the present buildings are finished, to the old levels shown in the table to which I have already referred (page 616 of Finance Committee's First Report).

In Punjab the highest rate in 1867-68 is 5 annas and 4 annas per day, chiefly in those parts where public works are going on, such as Sealkote, Multan, Lahore, &c. But even in these the lowest and in most of the other districts the rate generally is 2 annas. The average given of wages for unskilled labour in the Report for 1868-69 is—highest, 3 annas 3 pies, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.; lowest, 2 annas 5 pies, or  $3\frac{2}{3}$ d. This average is taken without any reference to the number of persons earning the different wages. Were this element considered, the average would come down to the old famous 3d. a-day. There is the further element to consider—how many days of the year are the different wages earned! However, even with regard to any high rate—that is, in some districts—the Punjab Government says what is applicable to other parts of India under similar circumstances. The Administration Report for 1867-68 (page 83) says: “The rates for unskilled labour range from 2

“ annas (3d.) to 5 annas (7½d.) per diem. There has been a considerable rise in rates in places affected by the railway and other public works, and labour in any shape commands higher remuneration than formerly; but as prices of the necessaries of life have risen in even a higher ratio, owing chiefly to the increase of facility of export, it may be doubted whether the position of the unskilled labouring classes has materially improved.” Leaving the cause to be what it may, this is apparent, that higher wages in some places have not done much good to the poor labourer. The general rate of wages is, however, about 2 annas. In the Central Provinces (excepting those parts where railway works have been going on), in Raipore, Belaspore, Sumbulpore, Balaghat, Bhundara, and Chindwara, the rate of wages for unskilled labour is generally 2 annas only, both for the years 1867-68 and 1868-69. On the other hand, where railway works are going on and the price of food is high, wages are also high—as in Hoshungabad, 3 annas; Baitool, 4 annas; Nursingpore, 3 annas; Jubbulpore, 5 annas; Nagpore, 3 annas, &c. Thus only locally and temporarily are there high wages in some parts. The general rate of wages is not improved. Even with all such high wages for a few, the average all over the provinces in 1868-69, as well as in 1870-71, is put down as 3 annas, or 4½d.; but if the number of those earning the different wages, and the number of days when such wages are earned, were considered, as well as the temporary effect of the building of public works, we shall again come to our old friend 3d. per day, or perhaps less. Except, therefore, all over India, where railway or public works have congested labour temporarily, without good facility of communication for bringing food, the general rate of wages is scarcely above 2 annas a-day. The notion of a general rise of wages, and of the vastly improved condition of the labourer, is a delusion. Here is the latest summary of wages on the highest authority (*Material and Moral Progress of India for 1871-72*, pages 100-101): In Punjab, wages are 6d. to 2d. a-day for unskilled labour; in Oudh, 1½d. a-day for unskilled labour; in Central Provinces, unskilled labour is 3d. to 1½d. per day; in the Bombay Presidency, unskilled labour is 6d. to 3d. a-day. The rates of other provinces are not given. It must be remembered that the lower figure is the rate earned by the majority; and are these present rates of 1½d. to 3d. an enormous rise on the former ones?

#### BULLION.

It is often alleged that India has imported large quantities of bullion, and is very much enriched thereby. Let us see what the facts are.

First of all, India has not got its imports of silver as so much pro-

fits on its exports, or making up so much deficit of imports against exports and profits. As far as exports go, I have already shown that the imports (including all bullion) are short of exports *plus* profits to the extent of not only the whole profits, but the whole opium revenue, and a good deal from the produce itself besides. The import of bullion has been chiefly from commercial and financial necessities, as will be seen further on, except during the few years of the American War, when some portion was sent in because the people could not suddenly create a large demand for English goods in payment of profits. The total balance of the imports and exports of bullion from the year 1801 to 1863, according to Parliamentary Return 133 of 1864, is 234,353,686*l.*; and from 1864 to 1869, according to Return C. 184 of 1870, is 101,123,448*l.* (which includes, mark! the years of the great cotton windfall, and large remittances for railway loans), making altogether 335,477,134*l.* from 1801 to 1869. The British rulers introduced universally the system of collecting all revenue in money instead of in kind. This circumstance produced a demand for coin. The foreign trade of the country having increased (though without any benefit to India), increased the demand for coin. The coinage of India from 1801 to 1869, according to the same returns, amounts to 265,652,749*l.*, exclusive of coinage in Madras for the years 1801 to 1807, and for Bombay for the years 1821-22, 1824 to 1831, and 1833 (particulars of which are not given), leaving a balance of about 70,000,000*l.* of bullion for all other wants of the country. It may be said that some of the coinage must have been re-melted. This cannot be to a large extent, as specie is 2 per cent. cheaper than coin, as the Mint charge is 2 per cent. for coining. Mr. Harrison, in reply to Question 3,993 of the Finance Committee, confirms this—that the coinage “is burdened with a charge of 2 per cent., “which is a clear loss to all persons wishing to use it for any other purpose than that of coin.”

Then there is the wear and tear to consider. The wear and tear of shillings and sixpences given by the return (24 of 1817) is 28 per cent. on shillings and 47 per cent. on sixpences. The period of the wear is not given in the return. In India, from the necessity of moving large quantity of coin for Government purposes, and a much rougher and more wide-spread use of the coin by the people generally, the per-centage of wear per annum must be a large one indeed.

Mr. Harrison again says on the subject—“Question 3,992.—But do “you, then, think that a million fresh coinage a-year is sufficient to “supply the wants of India? Mr. Harrison: More than sufficient, “I suppose, to supply the waste of coin or metal.” This, I cannot help thinking, is under the mark, but it shows that nearly a million a-year must be imported for simply making up waste of coin or metal.

The coinage of India as per return is, from 1801 to 1869, about 266,000,000*l.* (not including the coinage in Native States). Deducting only 66,000,000*l.* for wastage for the sixty-nine years, there should be in circulation 200,000,000*l.* Taking the wide extent of the country (equal to all Europe, except Russia, it is said), this amount for revenue, commercial, and social purposes is not an extravagant one. Strike off even 50,000,000*l.* for re-melting, though at the loss of 2 per cent. value; I take the coin as only 150,000,000*l.* Deducting this amount and wastage of 66,000,000*l.*—or say even 50,000,000*l.* only (to be under the mark)—making a total of 200,000,000*l.*, there will remain for all other social and industrial wants, besides coinage, about 135,000,000*l.* This distributed over a population of above 200,000,000, hardly gives 13*s.* 6*d.* per head; that is to say, during altogether sixty-nine years, India imported only 13*s.* 6*d.* per head of bullion for all its various purposes, except coin. What an insignificant sum! Take even the whole import altogether of 335,000,000*l.* during the long period of sixty-nine years, and what is it? Simply about 33*s.* 6*d.* per head for all possible purposes, and without making any allowance for wear and tear. Just see what the United Kingdom has retained for its purposes. I cannot get any returns of import of silver and gold before 1858. I take only, then, 1858 to 1869 (both inclusive). The total imports are 322,628,000*l.*, and the total exports 268,319,000*l.*, leaving a balance of about 54,300,000*l.* Deducting about 10,000,000*l.* for the excess of the quantity in the Bank of England at the end of 1869 over 1857, there remain about 44,000,000*l.* for the social and trade use of the country, allowing equal amounts for coin in 1858 and 1869. This, therefore, is about 30*s.* a-head retained by the United Kingdom within a period of twelve years, independent of its circulating coin, while India retained only 33*s.* 6*d.* a-head during a period of sixty-nine years for *all* its purposes. Much is said about the hoarding by the Natives, but how little is the share for each to hoard! and what amounts are in a shape for hoardings, in plate, jewellery, watches, &c., which the people use in England? I do not suppose that any Englishman would say that the Natives of India ought to have no taste and no ornaments or articles of use, and must only live like animals; but, after all, how little there is for each, if every one had his share to hoard or to use! The fact is that, far from hoarding, millions who are living on “scanty subsistence” do not know what it is to have a silver piece in their possession. It cannot be otherwise. To talk of Oriental wealth now, as far as British India is concerned, is only a figure of speech, a dream! When we talk of all the silver having a purchasing power, we forget how minutely and widely a large portion of it must be distributed in India, to be of no use

for national purposes. The notion that the import of silver has made India rich, is another strange delusion ! There is one important circumstance which is not borne in mind. The silver imported is *not* for making up the balance of exports and profits over imports, or for what is called balance of trade. Far from it; as I have already explained. It is imported as a simple necessity, but it therefore no more makes India richer because so much *silver* is imported. If I give out 20*l.* worth of goods to anybody, and in return get 5*l.* in other goods and 5*l.* in silver, and yet if by so doing, though I have received only 10*l.* worth in all for the 20*l.* I have parted with, I am richer by 5*l.* because I have received 5*l.* in silver, then my richness will be very unenviable indeed. The phenomenon, in fact, has a delusive effect. Besides not giving due consideration to the above circumstances, the bewilderment of many people at what are called enormous imports of silver in India is like that of a child which, because it can itself be satisfied with a small piece of bread, wonders at a big man eating up a whole loaf, though that loaf may be but a very "scanty subsistence" for the poor big man.

The little England can have 1*l.* a-head out of 30,000,000*l.*, the big India must have 200,000,000*l.* to give this share per head to its population. Yet the 33*s.* 6*d.* per head in sixty-nine years appears to the bewildered Englishman something enormously larger than 30*s.* a-head in twelve years they themselves have got, and that as a portion of the profits of trade; while India has it for sheer necessity, and at the highest price, as silver is its last destination, and paying that price by the actual produce of the country, not from any profits of trade, thereby diminishing to that extent its own means of subsistence.

There is one more point to be borne in mind. How much did the East India Company first drain away from India before it, as a matter of necessity, began to re-import bullion for its wants ? What are the statistics of the imports and exports of bullion before 1801 ?

Where can we find an account of the fortunes which the Company's servants made, by foul means or fair, in spite of their masters' orders, and which they may have taken over to their country in various ways, independently of the Custom-house, with themselves in their own boxes ?

Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) says in his minute of 1787 (Report of Select Committee of 1812, Appendix, page 183) in reference to Bengal:—

" 137. The exports of specie from the country for the last twenty-five years have been great, and particularly during the last ten of that period. It is well understood, although the remittances to China are by the Government provided by bills, that specie to a large amount has been exported to answer them. . . . Silver bullion is also remitted

“by individuals to Europe; the amount cannot be calculated, but must, since the Company’s accession to the Dewany, have been very considerable.”

“140. Upon the whole, I have no hesitation in concluding that, since the Company’s acquisition of the Dewany, the current specie of the country has been *greatly diminished* in quantity; that the old channels of importation by which the drains were formerly replenished are now in a great measure closed; and that the necessity of supplying China, Madras, and Bombay with money, as well as the exportation of it by the Europeans to England, will continue still further to exhaust the country of its silver. . . .

“142. It is obvious to any observer that the specie of the country is much diminished; and I consider this as a radical evil.”

In a quotation I have given before, Lord Cornwallis mentions “the great diminution of the current specie,” in pointing out the result of the drain.

Such was the exhaustion of British territory in India of its specie before it began to re-import. The East India Company and their servants carried away *via* China or direct to England, the former the surplus of revenue, the latter their savings and their bribes, in specie. The country was exhausted, and was compelled to re-import specie for its absolute wants; and it is from the time of such re-importations after exhaustion that we have the return of bullion from the year 1801, and which, after all, is only 34s. a-head for all possible wants, commercial, social, religious, revenue, industrial, trade, railway and other public works, or any other, in a period of sixty-nine years. And having no specie left to pay for the heavy English drain, it began to pay in its produce and manufactures, diminishing thereby the share of its children year by year, and their capacity for production. Be it remembered also that this import of specie includes all imported for building railways, and which is a debt on the country to be repaid. This debt to the end of 1869 was some 82,000,000*l*.

As far as I could, I have now placed before you a series of facts and figures directly bearing upon the question of the Poverty of India. I now place before you a few further notes as to the moral effect which the chief causes of the poverty of India have produced on our British rulers.

#### NON-FULFILMENT OF SOLEMN PROMISES.

“We have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made,” are the words of the highest Indian authority, his Grace the Duke of Argyll. The evil which is the cause of the excessive drain from India, and its consequent poverty, and which consists

in the excessive employment of Europeans in every possible way, leads the British Government into the false and immoral position and policy of not fulfilling "their duty, or the promises and engagements made by "them." I shall now illustrate this phase of the condition of the Natives in some of the various departments of the State. Here is a bold and solemn promise made forty years ago. Parliament enacted in 1833 (Chapter LXXXV., Section LXXXVII.)—"And be it enacted "that no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of "His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, "place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from "holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

At the enactment of this clause, Mr. Macaulay, on July 10, 1833, in defending the East India Company's Charter Bill on behalf of Government, said as follows, on this part of the Bill, in words worthy of an English gentleman :—

"There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has "recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say "a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause "which enacts that no Native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of "his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. "At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the "most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and con- "tracted minds—at the risk of being called a philosopher—I must say "that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of "those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that "clause. We are told that the time can never come when the Natives "of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are "told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are "told that we are bound to confer on our subjects—every benefit which "they are capable of enjoying?—No. Which it is in our power to "confer on them?—No. But which we can confer on them without "hazard to our own dominion. Against that proposition I solemnly "protest, as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality.

"I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this delicate "matter. I feel that, for the good of India itself, the admission of "Natives to high offices must be effected by slow degrees; but that, "when the fulness of time is come, when the interest of India requires "the change, we ought to refuse to make that change, lest we should "endanger our own power,—this is a doctrine which I cannot think of "without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too "dear.

"*Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas* is a despicable policy either

“ in individuals or in States. In the present case, such a policy would  
 “ be not only despicable, but absurd. The mere extent of empire is not  
 “ necessarily an advantage. To many Governments it has been cum-  
 “ bersome—to some it has been fatal. It will be allowed by every  
 “ statesman of our time that the prosperity of a community is made up  
 “ of the prosperity of those who compose the community, and that it is  
 “ the most childish ambition to covet dominion which adds to no man’s  
 “ comfort or security. To the great trading nation, to the great manu-  
 “ facturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race  
 “ can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in  
 “ the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of  
 “ indifference. It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we  
 “ might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the  
 “ vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of  
 “ the case, far better for us that the people of India were well-governed  
 “ and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that they  
 “ were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our broadcloth and work-  
 “ ing with our cutlery, than that they were performing their *salams* to  
 “ English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to  
 “ value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures. To trade with civi-  
 “ lized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That  
 “ would, indeed, be a dotting wisdom which, in order that India might  
 “ remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency—  
 “ which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers  
 “ in order that they might continue to be our slaves. It was, as Ber-  
 “ nier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in  
 “ India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distin-  
 “ guished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to admin-  
 “ ister to him a daily dose of the *pousta*—a preparation of opium—the  
 “ effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and  
 “ mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn  
 “ him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice, more horrible  
 “ than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is  
 “ no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to admin-  
 “ ister the *pousta* to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyze a great  
 “ people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched  
 “ purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is  
 “ that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on  
 “ misery—which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties  
 “ which, as governors, we owe to the governed—which, as a people  
 “ blessed with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty  
 “ and of intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand



“ years of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilized to  
 “ little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal  
 “ measure of freedom and civilization. Are we to keep the people of  
 “ India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? or do  
 “ we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambi-  
 “ tion? or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no  
 “ legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the  
 “ affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative  
 “ by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude  
 “ the Natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is  
 “ plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national pros-  
 “ perity, of national honour.

“ The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick dark-  
 “ ness. It is difficult to form any conjectures as to the fate reserved  
 “ for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by  
 “ itself a separate class of political phenomena; the laws which regu-  
 “ late its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be  
 “ that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it  
 “ has outgrown the system; that, by good government, we may edu-  
 “ cate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having  
 “ become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future  
 “ age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever  
 “ come I know not; but never will I attempt to avert or to retard it.  
 “ Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.  
 “ To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and  
 “ superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous  
 “ and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title  
 “ to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us, unfor-  
 “ seen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy,  
 “ victory may be inconstant to our arms; but there are triumphs which  
 “ are followed by no reverses, there is an empire exempt from all  
 “ natural causes of decay; those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of  
 “ reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our  
 “ arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.”

I should not add one word of any other speeches, though others  
 also had spoken at the time, and with general approbation of, the senti-  
 ments expressed; I would only say that, had these pledges and policy  
 been faithfully followed, now, after forty years, great blessings would  
 have been the result both to England and India. Once more I appeal  
 to the British to revive the memory of those noble sentiments—follow  
 the “ plain path of duty that is before you.” That unfortunate  
 plea—unfortunate both for England and India—of political danger was

fully considered and deliberately cast aside by the statesmen who enacted "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause," as unworthy of the British nation, and they as deliberately adopted the policy of plain duty and true glory.

In such language and with such noble declaration was this clause proclaimed to the world. I have made a copy of all the speeches delivered in Parliament on this subject since 1830 ; but as I cannot insert them all here, I content myself with one of the early ones which I have read to you, and the latest delivered by the highest Indian authority, which I give further on.

Again, in 1858, our Gracious Majesty, in solemn, honest, and distinct terms, gave the following pledge in her gracious Proclamation : " We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." Such were the great solemn pledges given by the Queen and Parliament.

We may now see what the present (1873) highest authority, his Grace the Secretary of State for India, says as to the due fulfilment of these pledges, when the East India Association were making efforts in respect of the admission of Natives in the Covenanted Civil Service.

The following is the correspondence between the East India Association and Mr. Grant Duff in 1873, giving his Grace's speech, and a brief account of the events from 1867 to 1873 :—

" East India Association, 20, Great George Street,

" Westminster, London, September, 1873.

" To M. E. Grant Duff, Esq., M.P., Under-Secretary of State for  
" India, India Office.

" Sir,—By the direction of the Council of the East India Association, I have to request you to submit this letter for the kind consideration of his Grace the Secretary of State for India.

" On the 21st August, 1867, this Association applied to Sir Stafford Northcote, the then Secretary of State for India, asking that the competitive examination for a portion of the appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as he might think proper, and expressing an opinion that, after the selection had been made in India by the first examination, it was essential that the selected candidates should be required to come to

“ England to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates for this country.

“ Sir Stafford Northcote soon after introduced a clause in the Bill he submitted to Parliament, entitled ‘ The Governor-General of India Bill.’

“ The enactment of this Bill continued in abeyance, until, under the auspices of his Grace the present Secretary of State, it became law on the 25th March, 1870, as ‘ East India (Laws and Regulations) Act.’ Moving the second reading of the Bill on the 11th March, 1869, his Grace, in commenting upon Clause 6, in a candid and generous manner made an unreserved acknowledgment of past failures of promises, non-fulfilment of duty, and held out hopes of the future complete fulfilment to an adequate extent, as follows :—

“ ‘ I now come to a clause—the 6th—which is one of very great importance, involving some modification in our practice, and in the principles of our legislation, as regards the Civil Service in India. Its object is to set free the hands of the Governor-General, under such restrictions and regulations as may be agreed to by the Government at home, to select for the Covenanted Service of India Natives of that country, although they may not have gone through the competitive examination in this country. It may be asked how far this provision is consistent with the measures adopted by Parliament for securing efficiency in that service ; but there is a previous and, in my opinion, a much more important question which I trust will be considered—how far this provision is essential to enable us to perform our duties and fulfil our pledges and professions towards the people of India. . . .

“ ‘ With regard, however, to the employment of Natives in the Government of their country, in the Covenanted Service formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made.

“ ‘ In the Act of 1833 this declaration was solemnly put forth by the Parliament of England : “ And be it enacted that no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.”

“ ‘ Now, I well remember that in the debates in this House in 1853, when the renewal of the charter was under the consideration of Lord Aberdeen’s Government, my late noble friend Lord Monteagle complained, and I think with great force, that while professing to open

“ every office of profit and employment under the Company or the  
“ Crown to the Natives of India, we practically excluded them by lay-  
“ ing down regulations as to fitness which we knew Natives could never  
“ fulfil. If the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is  
“ a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance or  
“ what possibility is there of Natives of India acquiring that fair share  
“ in the administration of their own country which their education and  
“ abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to  
“ possess? I have always felt that the regulations laid down for the  
“ competitive examination rendered nugatory the declaration of the  
“ Act of 1833; and so strongly has this been felt of late years by the  
“ Government of India, that various suggestions have been made to  
“ remedy the evil. One of the very last—which, however, has not  
“ yet been finally sanctioned at home, and respecting which I must say  
“ there are serious doubts—has been suggested by Sir John Lawrence,  
“ who is now about to approach our shores, and who is certainly one of  
“ the most distinguished men who have ever wielded the destinies of  
“ our Indian Empire. The palliative which he proposes is that nine  
“ scholarships—nine scholarships for a government of upwards of  
“ 180,000,000 of people!—should be annually at the disposal of cer-  
“ tain Natives, selected partly by competition, and partly with reference  
“ to their social rank and position, and that these nine scholars should  
“ be sent home, with a salary of 200*l.* a-year each, to compete with the  
“ whole force of the British population seeking admission through the  
“ competitive examinations. Now, in the first place, I would point out  
“ the utter inadequacy of the scheme to the ends of the case. To speak  
“ of nine scholarships distributed over the whole of India as any fulfil-  
“ ment of our pledges or obligations to the Natives, would be a farce. I  
“ will not go into the details of the scheme, as they are still under  
“ consideration; but I think it is by no means expedient to lay down  
“ as a principle that it is wholly useless to require Natives seeking  
“ employment in our Civil Service to see something of English society  
“ and manners. It is true that in the new schools and colleges they  
“ pass most distinguished examinations, and, as far as books can teach  
“ them, are familiar with the history and constitution of this country;  
“ but there are some offices with regard to which it would be a most  
“ important, if not an essential, qualification that the young men ap-  
“ pointed to them should have seen something of the actual working of  
“ the English Constitution, and should have been impressed by its work-  
“ ing, as any one must be who resides for any time in this great po-  
“ litical society. Under any new regulations which may be made  
“ under this clause, it will, therefore, be expedient to provide that

“ Natives appointed to certain places shall have some personal knowledge of the working of English institutions. I would, however, by no means make this a general condition, for there are many places in the Covenanted Service of India for which Natives are perfectly competent, without the necessity of visiting this country; and I believe that by competitive examinations conducted at Calcutta, or even by pure selection, it will be quite possible for the Indian Government to secure able, excellent, and efficient administrators.’

“ The clause thus introduced, in a manner worthy of an English generous-minded nobleman, and passed into law, is as follows:—

“ ‘ 6. Whereas it is expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of Natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India, be it enacted that nothing in the “Act for the Government of India,” twenty-one and twenty-two Victoria, chapter one hundred and six, or in the “Act to confirm certain appointments in India, and to amend the law concerning the Civil Service there,” twenty-four and twenty-five Victoria, chapter fifty-four, or in any other Act of Parliament, or other law now in force in India, shall restrain the authorities in India, by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India, from appointing any Native of India to any such office, place, or employment, although such Native shall not have been admitted to the said Civil Service of India in manner in section thirty-two of the first-mentioned Act provided, but subject to such rules as may be from time to time prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present; and that, for the purpose of this Act, the words “Natives of India” shall include any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only; and that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to define and limit from time to time the qualification of Natives of India thus expressed; provided that every resolution made by him for such purpose shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not have force until it has been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.’

“ It is now more than three years since this clause has been passed, but the Council regret to find that no steps have apparently yet been taken by his Excellency the Viceroy to frame the rules required by it, so that the Natives may obtain the due fulfilment of the liberal promise made by his Grace.

“ The Natives complain that, had the enactment referred to the interests of the English community, no such long and unreasonable delay would have taken place, but effect would have been given to the Act as quickly as possible ; and they further express a fear that this promise may also be a dead-letter.

“ The Council, however, fully hope that further loss of time will not be allowed to take place in promulgating the rules required by the Act. The Natives, after the noble and generous language used by his Grace, naturally expect that they will not be again doomed to disappointment, and most anxiously look forward to the promulgation of the rules—to give them, in some systematic manner, ‘ that fair share in the administration of their own country which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil,’ and therefore entitle them to possess, not only as a political justice, but also as a national necessity, for the advancement of the material and moral condition of the country.

“ I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ W. C. PALMER, Captain,

“ Acting Honorary Secretary of the East India Association.”

“ India Office, London, 10th October, 1873.

“ Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd October, relative to the provisions of the 33rd Victoria, cap. 3, section 6; and to inform you that the subject is understood to be under the consideration of the Government of India, the attention of which has been twice called to it.

“ 2. The Duke of Argyll in Council will send a copy of your letter to the Government of India, and again request the early attention of that authority to that subject.

“ I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ (Signed) M. E. GRANT DUFF.

“ The Acting Honorary Secretary, East India Association.”

Such is the candid confession of non-performance of duty and non-fulfilment of solemn pledges for thirty-six years, and the renewed pledge to make amends for past failures and provide adequate admission for the future for a fair share in the administration of our own country. The inadequacy is clearly shown by the ridicule of nine scholarships for 180,000,000 souls, and the proposal to adopt means “for the abolition of the monopoly of Europeans.” When was this confession and this new pledge made? It was to pass the 6th clause of Act 33 Vict. cap. 3. The clause was passed on 25th March, 1870, one year after the above speech was made, and nearly three years after it was first proposed.

Next March (1874) it will be four years since this clause has been passed. Twice did Sir C. Wingfield ask questions in the House of Commons, and no satisfactory reply was given. At last the East India Association addressed the letter which I have read to you, to the India Office, and from the reply you have seen how slow our Indian authorities had been, so as to draw three reminders from the Secretary of State.

With regard to the remark in the letter as to the complaint of the Natives that, "had the enactment referred to the interests of the English community, no such long and unreasonable delay would have taken place," I need simply point to the fact of the manner in which the Cooper's Hill College was proposed and carried out in spite of all difficulties.

Now about the scholarships to which his Grace alluded in his speech. These scholarships had nothing to do with the provision for affording facilities to Natives to enter the Covenanted Service. They were something for a quite different purpose. The following correspondence of the East India Association of 3rd March, 1870, with Mr. Grant Duff, gives briefly the real state of the case:—

" East India Association, 20, Great George Street,  
" Westminster, S.W., 3rd March, 1870.

" Sir,—I am directed by the Council of the East India Association to request you to submit, for the kind consideration of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, the following resolutions passed at a large meeting of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association:—

*" Resolutions.*

" That the Managing Committee, Bombay Branch, be requested to bring to the notice of the head body in London the recent suspension of the Government of India scholarships, and at the same time to lay before it the following representations on the subject:—

" 1. That the Bombay Branch has learnt with great regret that the Government scholarships, lately established to enable Indian youths to proceed to England for educational purposes, are not to be awarded this year.

" 2. That the Bombay Branch are aware that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India considers these scholarships as quite an inadequate provision for a government of 180,000,000 souls, and they look forward with hopeful confidence to the day when his Grace will unfold before the British Legislature a measure suggested by his long experience and study of Indian affairs, elaborated and matured by the generous and large-minded sympathy and interest which he has always evinced towards the Natives of India, and worthy at once of

“ his own high name and intellect, and those of the country which ha  
 “ entrusted him with his present high post.

“ 3. That, while thus far from being unmindful of the good inten-  
 “ tions which have most probably prompted the suspension of these  
 “ scholarships, the Bombay Branch feel bound to submit that, even as a  
 “ temporary and inadequate measure, these scholarships were calculated  
 “ to do an amount of good which the preparation of a larger and more  
 “ comprehensive scheme did not by any means in the meantime render it  
 “ imperative to forego.

“ 4. That the suddenness of the suspension of these scholarships  
 “ has given it a sort of retrospective effect with regard to those youths  
 “ who framed their course of study in the expectation of obtaining the  
 “ benefits of the notifications issued by the several Indian Governments  
 “ in respect of these scholarships; thus entailing great disappointment  
 “ on particular individuals.

“ 5. That the East India Association will have the kindness to  
 “ carry the above representations to the Right Honourable the Secre-  
 “ tary of State for India in the manner it may deem most proper and  
 “ effective.

“ In submitting these resolutions, the Council respectfully urge that  
 “ the object of the proposer, the late lamented Sir H. Edwards, of this  
 “ prayer for scholarships in the memorial presented the 21st August, 1867,  
 “ to the late Secretary of State, Sir S. Northcote, was ‘ to aid the Natives  
 “ ‘ not merely to enable them to compete for the Civil Service, but to  
 “ ‘ return in various professions to India, so that by degrees they might  
 “ ‘ form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and bene-  
 “ ‘ ficial influence on Native society, and constituting a link between the  
 “ ‘ masses of the people and the rulers.’ It is evident that Lord Law-  
 “ rence, the then Governor-General of India, also understood and declared  
 “ the object of these scholarships to be as above; for, in the Resolution  
 “ No. 360 the object is stated to be ‘ of encouraging Natives of India to  
 “ ‘ resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their edu-  
 “ ‘ cation and of studying the various learned professions, or for the Civil  
 “ ‘ and other Services in this country;’ and also, in another part of the  
 “ same resolution, it is declared to be ‘ not only to afford to the students  
 “ ‘ facilities for obtaining a University degree, and for passing the com-  
 “ ‘ petitive examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service, but  
 “ ‘ also to enable them to pursue the study of law, medicine, or civil  
 “ ‘ engineering, and otherwise prepare themselves for the exercise of a  
 “ ‘ liberal profession.’

“ The Council, therefore, venture to submit that, considering the im-



“portant objects pointed out by Sir H. E. Edwardes, it is very desirable  
“that the scholarships be continued.

“The Council are glad to find, from your speech in the House of  
“Commons, that the question of these scholarships has not yet been  
“settled, and they therefore trust that his Grace will accede to the re-  
“quest so urgently made in the above resolutions.

“The Council have every reason to believe that the Natives of the  
“other Presidencies also share similar feelings, and confidently leave  
“the matter in the hands of his Grace.

“I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

“DADABHAI NAOROJI, Honorary Secretary.

“Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, Esq., M.P.,  
Under-Secretary of State for India.”

“India Office, March 18, 1870.

“Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council  
“to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant on the  
“subject of the Government of India scholarships.

“In reply, I am instructed to inform you that the Secretary of State  
“in Council has very fully considered the whole subject, and does not  
“deem it expedient to proceed further with the scheme of scholarships.

“You are aware that a Bill is now before Parliament which will  
“enable the Government to give to the Natives of India more extensive  
“and important employment in the public service.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“HERMAN MERIVALE.”

It is now (1873) nearly four years, and this “employment” is still under consideration; but the scholarships, which had nothing to do with this matter, after being proclaimed to the world in the *Indian Gazette*, and after a brief life of one year, are gone. I next examine how far the great pledges of 1833 and 1858 have been carried out in the Uncovenanted and other Services.

#### THE UNCOVENANTED SERVICE.

Sir S. Northcote, in his despatch of 8th February, 1868, wrote to the Indian Government: “The Legislature has determined that the  
“more important and responsible appointments in those provinces shall  
“be administered exclusively by those who are now admitted to the  
“public service solely by competition; but there is a large class of ap-  
“pointments in the regulation as well as in the non-regulation pro-  
“vinces, some of them scarcely less honourable and less lucrative than  
“those reserved by law for the Covenanted Civil Service, to which the  
“Natives of India have certainly a preferential claim, but which, as you

"seem to admit, have up to this time been too exclusively conferred upon Europeans. These persons, however competent, not having entered the service by the prescribed channel, can have no claim upon the patronage of the Government—none, at least, that ought to be allowed to override the inherent rights of the Natives of the country; and, therefore, while all due consideration should be shown to well-deserving incumbents, both as regards their present position and their promotion, there can be no valid reason why the class of appointments which they now hold should not be filled in future by Natives of ability and high character." Now, is this done? I have not been able to get a complete return of the higher Uncovenanted Servants. I shall use what I have got. The Government of India, in their despatch, in the Financial Department, to the Secretary of State for India, No. 227, dated 4th October, 1870, gives two tables, the first headed "Abstract of Appendix A referred to in the sixth paragraph of the above despatch, being a statement of the number of offices in India which were filled in 1869 by Uncovenanted Servants, but *which might have been filled by Covenanted Servants or Military Officers.*" Now, this list gives of such Uncovenanted Servants 1,302 Europeans and 221 Natives.

I am sorry I cannot get a return of the salaries of these 1,302 European Uncovenanted Servants; but, with regard to Natives, the second table of the same despatch shows that out of these 221 only

1	gets a salary of Rs. 1,500 to 1,600 per month.	
1	" " 1,200 to 1,300	"
1	" " 1,100 to 1,200	"
11	" " 1,000 to 1,100	"
5	" " 800 to 900	"
14	" " 700 to 800	"
47	" " 600 to 700	"
60	" " 500 to 600	"
125	" " 400 to 500	"

265

"One Native Judge of the Bengal High Court at Rs. 4,160-10-8 per mensem."

Out of the last 125 there must be about 44 which the Government of India did not think fit for the Covenanted Servants or military officers. And it must also be borne in mind that the 1,302 do not include all those Uncovenanted appointments which are filled by military officers already. If we can get a return of all Uncovenanted appointments from Rs. 400 upwards, we shall then see how "the inherent right" possessors, the children of the soil, have fared, even in the Uncovenanted Service, before and since the despatch.

If anything, the tendency and language of the Indian Government is such; in the very correspondence from which I have given the table,

that even the small number of Natives may be squeezed out. All appointments that are worth anything are to pass to the Covenanted Servants and the military officers, and to the rest the Natives are welcome! Here and there, perhaps, a few better crumbs will be thrown to them. I sincerely hope I may prove a false prophet. An annual return is necessary to show whether Sir S. Northcote's despatch has not been also one more dead-letter.

#### THE ENGINEERING SERVICE.

When Cooper's Hill Engineering College was in contemplation, some correspondence passed between myself and his Grace the Secretary of State. In this I gave detailed particulars of the cases of Messrs. Daji Nilkunt, Lallubhoy Kheshowlal, Chambas Appa, Gungadhur Venaek, and Bomanji Sorabji. Now, the first four had duly qualified themselves, and were entitled to be promoted to the Engineering Department as far back as 1861, and the fifth in 1867, and yet they never got admission into the Engineering Department as far as I was then (1873) aware, though a large number of appointments had been made during the period. I said, in connection with this part of my letter, that such treatment and bitter disappointments produced much mischief, that the Public Works Department rules were a mere farce, &c., &c., and requested inquiry. This his Grace promised to do, but I do not know what has been done. But Mr. Grant Duff, in his speech on 3rd March, 1871, in Parliament, said: "Then we are told that we were asking too much money, that the Engineering College would be merely a college for the rich. We replied that we asked 150*l.* a-year for three years, in return for which we gave to those young men who passed through the College 420*l.* in their very first year of service. It is said, too, that we are excluding the Natives from competing. So far from this being the case, young Englishmen are obliged to pay for being educated for the Public Works Department, while young Natives of India are actually paid for allowing themselves to be educated for that service, and the scholarships available for that purpose are not taken up." Now, somehow or other, it did not please Mr. G. Duff to tell the whole truth. He omitted the most essential part of the whole story. He did not tell the honourable members that what he said about the encouragement with regard to the English youths only a minute before did not at all exist with regard to the Natives. He did not tell that, in return for any Natives who duly qualify themselves in India, we do not give 420*l.* in their very first year of service, or allow them fair and equal promotion with the English. The Native, on the contrary, has every possible discouragement thrown in his way, as will be seen subsequently. And, lastly, in his peroration, what great things

done by the "we" of the India Office Mr. Duff points out! "We claim "to have done, first, an imperative duty to India in getting for her the "trained engineering ability which she wanted." From whom, gentlemen? Not from her own children, but from *English* youths, as if India was simply a howling desert and had no people in it at all, or was peopled by mere savages and had no national wants. But after this clever way of benefiting India, Mr. Duff proceeds to point out what the "we" have done for England: "We have created a new profession. "We have widened the area of competition. We have offered a first-rate "education cheaper than a third-rate education can now be got. We "have done service even to those institutions which growl most at us. ". . . We have done service to practical men. . . Lastly, we have done "good service to English scientific education." It would appear as if India and Indians existed only to give England the above advantages. Now, here is his Grace giving the first intimation of his intention for establishing a college, on 28th July, 1870, before the House of Lords. And on what ground does he recommend it? Among others, the following: "It would afford an opening to young men in *THIS* country, "which they would, he thought, be anxious to seize, because it would "enable them to secure a very considerable position almost immediately "on their arrival in India, where they would start with a salary of about "400*l.* a-year, and rise in their profession by selection and ability. "They would be entirely at the disposal of the Governor-General of "India, and they would have the prospect of retiring with a pension "larger than in former times." It would appear that while saying this, his Grace altogether forgets that, besides these "anxious" young gentlemen of England, there were India's own children also, who had the first claim to be provided for in their own country, if India's good were the real policy of England; and that there were solemn pledges to be fulfilled, and the national wants of India to be considered. Why did it not occur to him that similar provision should be made for the Natives?

The case of the five Natives, before referred to, is enough to show how the code and rules were a mere farce. But this is not all. The following will show even when a positive pledge for one appointment was given in Bombay, in addition to the rules of the code already referred to, how even that was trifled with, and how only under strong protest of the Principal of the College and the Director of Public Instruction that it is restored this year (1873). In 1869, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, at the Convocation, exhorted the students to emulate their forefathers in their engineering skill, &c. I immediately complained, in a letter to the *Times of India*, of the uselessness of such exhortations when every

care was taken that the Natives shall *not* get into the service. Soon after, it was some consolation to find a little encouragement held out, and the first Licentiate of Engineering every year was guaranteed an Assistant Engineership, and the first year the Government became liberal and gave three instead of one. But the Fates again pursued us, and that guarantee of *one* Assistant Engineership soon virtually vanished. Let the authorities themselves speak on this subject.

In the Report of 1869-70, the Director of Public Instruction said (page 65): "In the University Examination three candidates passed the examination for the degree of L.C.E. The best of these received the appointment in the Engineering Branch of the Public Works Department, which Government guarantees yearly. Eight such appointments are guaranteed to the Thomason College at Roorkee, where the first Department on 1st April, 1870, contained 31 students, while the University Department of the Poona College contained 38 on the same date. But the Poona College has no cause to complain of want of encouragement, as Government has since been pleased to appoint the remaining two Licentiates also to be Assistant Engineers. All the graduates of the year have thus been admitted to a high position in the public service, and I hope that they will justify the liberality of Government." So far so good. But the effort of liberality soon passed off; and we have a different tale the very next year, which is the very second year after the guarantee.

The Principal of the Poona College says (Report, 1870-71, para. 8, Public Instruction Report, page 365): "The three students who obtained the degree of L.C.E. in 1869 have all been provided with appointments by Government. Up to the present, however, the first student at the L.C.E. examination in 1870 has not been appointed, though it is now more than six months since he passed. This delay on the part of the Public Works Department, in conferring an appointment guaranteed by Government, will, I fear, affect injuriously our next year's attendance."

Upon this the Director of Public Instruction says: "In 1870 two students of the University class passed the examination for the degree of Licentiate, and eight passed the first examination in Civil Engineering. The great attraction to the University Department of the College is the appointment in the Engineering Branch of the Public Works Department, guaranteed by Government yearly to the student who passes the L.C.E. examination with highest marks. This guarantee has failed on this occasion" (the usual fate of everything promised to Natives), "as neither of the Licentiates of 1870 has yet received an appointment. For whatever reason the Public Works Department delays to fulfil its

“engagement, it is much to be regretted that any doubt should be thrown on the stability of the Government’s support.”

Such is the struggle for the guarantee of *one* appointment—I repeat, *one single appointment*—to the Natives of the Bombay Presidency, and the following is the way in which Government gets out of its guarantee, and replies to the just complaint for the precious great boon: “The complaint made in para. 657, Report for 1870-71, that Government had withdrawn the Engineering appointment promised to the graduate in C.E. who shall pass with the highest marks, appears to be without sufficient foundation. All that Government has done is to limit the bestowal of this appointment to those who pass in the first class, while three appointments in the upper subordinate establishments (of the Public Works Department) are reserved for those who pass the final examination of the College. This would seem at present sufficient encouragement to the pupils of the institution, and the confinement of the highest prize to those who pass in the first class will probably act as a stimulus to increased exertion on the part of candidates for degrees.”

We may now see what the Principal of the College says on this. (Extract from Report of Principal of Poona Engineering College, 1871-72, Director of Public Instruction’s Report, page 500.) The Principal says: “Government have, however, I regret to say, during the past year withdrawn the guarantee of one appointment annually to the first student in order of merit at the L.C.E. examination, and have ordered that in future, to gain the single appointment, a *first-class degree* is to be considered necessary. This condition practically removes the guarantee altogether; for with the present high standard laid down for the University test, it will not be possible for a student to obtain 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. more frequently than once perhaps in five or six years. I have proposed that 50 per cent., which is the standard for a first-class B.A., be also adopted as the standard for the first-class degree in Civil Engineering. . . . The offer of an appointment to the student who obtains a first-class degree only is, as I have already said, equivalent to a withdrawal of the guarantee altogether. The University calendar shows that a first-class at the B.A. examination has only been gained by 11 students out of 129 who have been admitted to the degree, and I do not suppose that any larger proportion will obtain a first-class at the Engineering examination. In what condition, then, do the graduates in Civil Engineering at present stand? One man, Abraham Samuel Nagarkar, who passed the L.C.E. examination in 1870, was offered a *third grade overseership* at Rs. 60 per mensem—a post which he could have obtained by simply passing successfully the final ex-

“amination of the second department of the College. The case of  
 “another Licentiate, Mr. Narayen Babaji Joshi, is a still harder one.  
 “This youth passed the final examination of the second department of  
 “this College (taking second place) in October, 1867. He subsequently  
 “served as an overseer in the Public Works Department for two years,  
 “during which time he conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of his  
 “superiors. He resigned his appointment, and joined the University  
 “class in this College in November, 1869; and now that he has  
 “obtained the University degree, for which he has sacrificed a perma-  
 “nent appointment, he is without any employment, and is obliged to hold  
 “a post in the College on Rs. 50 per mensem—a much lower salary than  
 “he had when he was an overseer in the Public Works Department two  
 “and a-half years ago. . . . But *the Engineering graduates have*  
 “*absolutely no future* to look forward to, and it cannot be expected that  
 “candidates will be found to go up for the University degree if there  
 “be absolutely no likelihood of subsequent employment. At present  
 “almost all the engineering employment in the country is in the hands  
 “of Government. The work of the old Railway Companies in this  
 “Presidency is completed, and the new railways are being undertaken  
 “under Government supervision. Except in the Presidency towns,  
 “there is little scope for private engineering enterprise; and if Govern-  
 “ment does not come to the assistance of the College and its Univer-  
 “sity graduates, the University degree will, three or four years hence,  
 “be entirely unsought for, and the University department of the College  
 “will be numbered among the things of the past.” I understand from  
 Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee’s evidence that Government has yielded, and  
 re-guaranteed one appointment as before. Such is the story of the grand  
 guarantee of one appointment in our Presidency. Now with regard to  
 promotions.

In 1847, after a regular course of three years under Professor Pole,  
 nine Natives passed a severe examination, and were admitted into the  
 Public Works Department, but, to their great disappointment, not in  
 the Engineering Department. The little batch gradually dispersed,  
 some leaving the service, seeing poor prospects before them. After a  
 long eleven years, three of them had the good fortune of being ad-  
 mitted in the Engineering Department in 1858, but one only now con-  
 tinues in the service. What is Mr. Kahandas’s position later on? In  
 the list of 1st October, 1868, I find him an Executive Engineer of the  
 third class, while the following is the position of others in the same  
 list, for reasons I do not know: Three Executive Engineers of the  
 second grade, whose date of appointment in the Department is 1859,  
 and of one in 1860. Of the five Executive Engineers of the third

grade above Mr. Kahandas, the date of appointment of three is 1860, of one 1862, and of another 1864. How Mr. Kahandas is placed at present relatively with others, I have not yet ascertained. Mr. Naser-vanji Chandabhoy, after all sorts of praises, is much less fortunate, and leaves the service, as he calls it, in disgust. Now we may see how our neighbours are faring.

## MADRAS.

The following is the cry from Madras. In the Report on Public Instruction for the year 1870-71, at page 242, Captain Rogers, the Acting Principal of the Civil Engineering College, says: "In the case of Natives, it is evidently the difficulty of obtaining employment, after completing the course, which deters them from entering the institution." The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. E. B. Powell, says (page 21): "It is to be remarked with regret that, owing to the absence of encouragement, the first department exists rather in name than in reality. It is clearly most important that educated Natives of the country should be led to take up Civil Engineering as a profession; but in the present state of things, when almost all works are executed by Government, Hindus of the higher classes cannot be expected to study Civil Engineering without having a fair prospect of being employed in the superior grades of the Public Works Department."

## ROORKEE ENGINEERING COLLEGE.

In its first institution in 1848, the Natives were not admitted in the upper subordinate class at all—till the year 1862. In the Engineering Department I work out from the College Calendar of 1871-72 the Natives passed, and their present appointments, as follows:—

Year.	Names of Natives Passed.	Their present Appointments.
1851 .....	Ameerkhan.....	_____
1852 .....	Huree Charan.....	_____
" .....	Kanyalal .....	Executive Engineer 2nd Grade.
1853 .....	Nilmoner Mitra .....	_____
1854 .....	Azmutoolah.....	_____
1855 .....	Rampursad .....	_____
" .....	Madhosadan Chatterji .....	Assistant Engineer 1st Grade.
1858 .....	Soondarlal .....	_____
1859 .....	Narandas .....	_____
" .....	Ghasuram .....	_____
" .....	Sheoprasad .....	_____
1860 .....	Khettenath Chatterji .....	Assistant Engineer 1st Grade.
1862 .....	Isser Chandar Sircar .....	" " "
" .....	Beharilal .....	" " "
1870 .....	Rhadhifal .....	Engineer Apprentice.
" .....	Bujputroy.....	" "
1871 .....	Bhajat Sing .....	_____
" .....	Sher Nath .....	_____

Out of the total number of 112 that passed from 1851 to 1870, there are sixteen Natives, and seven only have appointments at present.



Why the others have not, I am not able to ascertain. About the first Bengalee that passed, the *Hindu Patriot* says he was so ill-treated that he resigned Government service in disgust, and alludes to another having done the same. From the falling-off from the year 1862 to 1870, I infer that there was no encouragement to Natives. Out of the ninety-six Europeans passed during the same time, ten only have no "present appointments" put after their name, and two are with their regiments. Again, Kanyalal, who passed in 1852, is an Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade; while one European who passed a year after, two Europeans who passed two years after, and three Europeans who passed three years after, are Executive Engineers 1st Grade; and two passed two years after, one passed three years after, one passed five years after, and one passed six years after, are also Executive Engineers 2nd Grade; and these lucky persons have superseded some European seniors also. Madhosadan Chatterji, passed in 1855, is now an Assistant Engineer of the 1st Grade, while two Europeans passed a year after him are *Executive Engineers* of 1st Grade, one passed two years after him is in "Survey Department" (and I cannot say whether this is higher or not), one passed three years after is an Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade; and of those passed four years after him, two are Executive Engineers of 3rd Grade, one Executive Engineer of 4th Grade, and one Deputy Conservator of Forests (I do not know whether this is higher); and two Assistant Engineers of the 1st Grade—i.e., in the same footing with him; of those passed five years after, one is Executive Engineer of 3rd Grade, two Executive Engineers of 4th Grade, and one Assistant Engineer of 1st Grade; of those passed six years after, one is Executive Engineer 3rd Grade, and one Executive Engineer 4th Grade; of those passed seven years after, two are Executive Engineers 4th Grade, one Assistant Superintendent 1st Grade Revenue Survey, and one Assistant Engineer 1st Grade; of those passed eight years after, one is Executive Engineer 4th Grade, and one Assistant Superintendent 1st Grade Survey Department; of those passed nine years after, four are Executive Engineers of 4th Grade, one is Assistant Superintendent 1st Grade Survey Department, and two are Assistant Engineers 1st Grade; of those passed ten years after, one is Executive Engineer 4th Grade, one Deputy-Assistant Superintendent (?) Revenue Survey, and one Assistant Engineer of 1st Grade; of those passed eleven years after, one is Assistant Engineer 1st Grade; of those passed twelve years after, one is Executive Engineer 4th Grade, one is Assistant Engineer 1st Grade, and one is Deputy Conservator of Forests. As to the Natives, the above-mentioned one passed in 1855, one passed in 1860, and two in 1862, are all

only Assistant Engineers of the 1st Grade; so that the very few who have been fortunate enough to get appointments are all at a stand at the 1st Grade of Assistant Engineers, except one who is Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade. What may be the reason of such unequal treatment? And yet Mr. Grant Duff coolly tells Parliament "that the "scholarships available for that purpose are not taken up," as if these scholarships for two or three years were the end and aim of their life-career. The upper subordinate department was entirely closed to Natives till 1862; the lower subordinate was only open to them. Under such circumstances, is it any wonder that the Natives do not go in for the higher Engineering Department? I cannot do better than let the Principal of the College himself speak to show how he struggles to get a guarantee for the Natives which he thinks will not commit Government to more than one or two appointments annually, and what he thinks of the fitness of Natives and their first claims (Principal Lang's Report for 1870-71, College Calendar for 1871-72, page 269): "Nor "can I hope to see many Natives join it, although I consider "that they have, perhaps, the first claims upon the College, and "should be more encouraged to enter the higher grades of the "Public Works Department. . . . A sub-overseer as turned out "of this College is in many particulars a more highly-trained subordinate, after his two years' curriculum, than the overseer who leaves "after one session in the College; and I am by no means prepared to "assert that he is not, on 35 rupees a-month, quite as useful a man in "most cases as the European overseer on Rs. 100. . . . But few, "however, comparatively of the higher or wealthier families have furnished candidates for the superior grades of the Engineering profession. . . . That the Natives of this country, under favourable "conditions, are capable of excellence both as architects and builders, "the beauty and solidity of many of the historical monuments of the "country fully testify; and that they could compete with European skill "in the choice and composition of building materials, may be proved by "comparing an old terrace-roof at Delhi or Lahore with an Allahabad "gun-shed, or many a recent barrack."

After referring to the encouragement given to one Native, the Principal proceeds: "But I consider that yet more encouragement should "be given. I do not think that the Natives have yet made sufficient "way in the profession to feel confidence in themselves, or to command "the confidence of the public. Such we may hope to see effected ere "long, but the time has not yet come for State aid and encouragement "to be withdrawn; and it is with this view that I have urged that, for "the *present*, Government should guarantee appointments to all passed

“ Native students in the Engineering classes, whether they stand amongst  
 “ the first eight on the lists at the final examinations or not, especially  
 “ as such a guarantee would commit them to but very few—one or two—  
 “ appointments annually. When the guarantee did commit Government  
 “ to a large number of appointments, it would be time to withdraw it;  
 “ its object would have been gained, the stream would have set in in the  
 “ required direction, and might be expected to flow on.

“ 18. Although this proposition has not yet received the approval  
 “ of the Government of India, I hope that it may be found possible to  
 “ sanction it, as such a guarantee, published in the calendar and circulars  
 “ of the College, will be a thoroughly satisfactory assurance to a candidate  
 “ or student that it rests only with himself to command an entrance into  
 “ the P. W. Department.”

Such is the struggle, and such are the reasons which Mr. Duff might have told Parliament why the scholarships were not taken up.

#### BENGAL.

Bengal appears to have been liberal about 1867-68, but, with the usual misfortune of Natives, seems to be falling off. The Administration Report of 1871-72 speaks in somewhat hopeful language, but we must wait and see. I give the extracts from the reports of the College since 1867-68 to explain what I mean (Educational Report of 1867-68, p. 522, Presidency College): “ The six Licentiates of 1867-68 have received  
 “ appointments in the grade of Assistant Engineers in the Public Works  
 “ Department on probation.” I understand all the six to be Natives.

(1868-69, page 437)—“ Three out of the four final students of the  
 “ Session of 1867-68 went up to the University examination for a  
 “ licence, and two were passed—one in the first class, and one in the  
 “ second.” (Page 438)—“ The two Licentiates were awarded scholarships.  
 “ . . . But after being attached for a short time to some of the works  
 “ in progress in Calcutta, they applied for and obtained appointments as  
 “ Engineer apprentices in the Public Works Department.” Why they  
 applied for the apprenticeship, and did not get the Assistant Engineer-  
 ship, I cannot ascertain. It looks as if this were the first step towards  
 the cessation of former liberality, for we see afterwards as follows  
 (Report 1869-70, page 302): “ There were eight students in the final  
 “ class of the Session who went up to the University examination. One  
 “ was a candidate for B.C.E., and he passed in the second class. The  
 “ other seven went in for the licence, and four passed in the second.”  
 Whether these have obtained appointments I cannot say; there is complete  
 silence on this matter—as if this were the second step towards  
 the discouragement. We do not read even of the apprenticeship now.

(Report 1870-71, page 305)—“Nine of the students in the third year class went up to the University examination for a licence, and three were passed, one being placed in the first class and two in the second.” I could not find out whether appointments were given to these: the report is again silent. The following is the hopeful, but unfortunately not very clear, language of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (Bengal Administration Report, 1871-72, page 237): “Students who obtain a Licentiate’s certificate are, after a short probation, eligible for the grade of Assistant Engineer.” Now, what this expression “eligible” means, it is difficult to say. Were not the five men of Bombay, about whom I have already spoken, eligible to be Assistant Engineers? And there they were with the precious eligibility, and that only in their possession for years, and I do not know whether this eligibility of some of the previous Bengal successful Licentiates has ripened into appointment.

“The several branches of the Public Works Department have hitherto been able to provide employment for all, or nearly all, the students who pass the several Civil Engineering examinations, and adopt Engineering as a profession.” The word “nearly” is again a very suspicious one. That the subordinates may be all employed is a necessity—for Europeans cannot be got for inferior work; but if the word “nearly” is applied to the Licentiates, then we have the same story as in the other Presidencies. In 1872, seven have passed the Licentiate and one the degree of Bachelor. It would be very interesting and gratifying to know whether these eight have obtained appointments as Assistant Engineers, or will get them. Altogether, I think some forty-five passed the Licentiate since 1861—a return of how these men have fared in their appointments and promotion will be a welcome one. The following sentence is an encouraging one, and makes me think that Bengal has not been so unjust as the other Presidencies: “Some Bengalees who graduated in the Civil Engineering College have already obtained lucrative and responsible posts in the Engineering Departments of Government, and a few years’ experience will show whether Bengalees are or are not unsuited for, and whether the best Bengalee students will continue to keep aloof from, the profession of Civil Engineering.” Are these appointments like those of the passed Natives of Roorkee, to a certain point and no further; or have the Natives fared, and will they fare, equally with the Europeans in their promotion? The only pity is that the word “some” commences this sentence instead of *all*, unless it means all who have graduated, or who have liked to enter Government service. We shall have not only to know whether the Bengalee is or is not unsuited, &c., but also what

treatment he receives at the hands of the P. W. Department in his future career. Unless both these matters are taken together, the conclusion about suitability or otherwise will be simply absurd and worthless.

### THE NATIVE MEDICAL SERVICE.

In this also the Natives are put at great disadvantage, in having to go to England to find admission. But apart from this, the treatment in India is as follows: I give below a statement of the difference between the treatment of the European and Native divisions.

### SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

#### SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

##### (1) *Preliminary Education.*

Individuals, Natives of Bombay, who ultimately wish to become sub-assistant surgeons, must enter the Medical College by first producing the University certificate of having passed the Matriculation or First Examination in Arts. When admitted, they have to pay an entrance-fee of Rs. 25, and a monthly fee of Rs. 5 throughout the college course of five years.

#### APOTHECARY CLASS.

##### (1) *Preliminary Education.*

The members of the apothecary class enter the service as hospital apprentices, and candidates who enter the service pass a most elementary examination, consisting of reading an ordinary school-book, some knowledge of explaining sentences, dictation, and arithmetic as far as Rule of Three and Fractions. A candidate satisfying the examiners on these points is admitted into the Medical Service as a hospital apprentice, and draws from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 a month, with an additional allowance of Rs. 10 for rations or batta. It will thus be seen that the members of the apothecary class enter the Medical Service in the first place, and this gives them the privilege of acquiring a *free* medical education at the Medical College, that is, *without any cost*, and while in the receipt of Government pay.

### COURSE OF STUDY.

(2) *A full and thorough college course* on the following subjects: Anatomy, physiology, chemistry, materia medica, comparative anatomy, pharmacy, medicine, surgery, medical jurisprudence, midwifery, ophthalmic surgery, hygiene, practical chemistry, practical toxicology, dissections, hospital practice, and surgical operations. This course extends over *five* long years—in so thorough and complete a manner as to be equal, and in some cases superior, to the college courses given in Great Britain. These constitute the *students' classes*. They are composed of students from the Hindu, Mohammedan, and Portuguese communities.

(2) Hospital apprentices, after enlisting in the Medical Service, serve at some regimental hospital for two years, during which time they are transferred to Sir Jamsetji Jijiboy Hospital, and, while serving there as medical apprentices, draw Government pay; they are also admitted into the College as medical apprentices to acquire medical knowledge. These apprentices, then, are made to attend the same lectures which are given to the students proper to whose classes they are attached, but the standard of their acquirements and final examinations is altogether different; it is greatly inferior to that of the students proper. The apprentices are called upon to attend the College for *three* years only.

(3) At the end of three years, the students proper have to pass what is called the First L.M. Examination at the University of Bombay. At the end of the fifth year, the second or final L.M. Examination has to be passed, and, if successful, the students receive the degree of L.M. Before the Bombay University came into existence, there were two corresponding examinations, then called A and B Examinations, and at the end of five years' course the successful students received the diplomas and were called G.G.M.C. It is from these successful students that the sub-assistant surgeons were made, but within the last two years they are also made (very unjustly) from the apothecary and hospital assistant classes, as will be seen further on, on very different and comparatively trifling examinations.

(4) There are three classes of sub-assistant surgeons, as under :—		Pay. Allowance. Total.	
3rd Class Sub-Assistant Surgeon during the first seven years' service .....	Rs. 100	Rs. 100	Rs. 200
2nd Class Sub-Assistant Surgeon, between seven and fourteen years' service .....	150	150	300
1st Class Sub-Assistant Surgeon, after fourteen years' service till the end of his service .....	200	150	350

(5) A sub-assistant surgeon cannot become an honorary assistant surgeon. During the course of the last twenty-three years, during which the class of sub-assistant surgeons is in existence, no medical charge ever given to him has brought him more pay than Rs. 350 a-month.

(3) At the end of the three years, they are examined by the College Professors in the College itself, and if they pass *their* standard of examination, they are made "passed hospital apprentices." They now leave the College to serve again at some regimental hospital, and draw Rs. 50 a-month.

N.B.—In the last two paragraphs it is stated that the apprentices attend the same class lectures for three years as the students proper. This arrangement is adopted in the College, as the professors cannot give separate courses to the students and to the apprentices. But the amount of knowledge required at the final examination of the apprentices at the end of three years, is much smaller than the knowledge required at the final examination of the students proper at the end of five years.

(4) The "passed hospital apprentices" then go on with their regimental duties, and are promoted in the following order, till they reach the grade of senior apothecary :—

	Rs.
Passed hospital apprentice.....	50
Assistant apothecary under five years .....	75
Assistant apothecary after five years .....	100
Apothecary under five years ...	150
Apothecary after five years ...	200
Senior apothecary .....	400

#### *Education of the Apothecaries.*

Soon after the opening of the G.M. College, Government ordered that the members of the apothecary class should receive medical education in the College; they then attended the same lectures as are given to the students' classes for *three* years, at the end of which period they are examined. The standard of the examination is the same easy one which is now adopted for the apprentices, also at the end of three years' course. These examinations are taken at the College, not by the Bombay University.

(5) The members of the apothecary class can be made honorary assistant surgeons. An honorary assistant surgeon, or an assistant apothecary, or apothecary, draws Rs. 450 a-month if placed in temporary medical charge of a Native regiment.

(6) No provision of this sort for sub-assistant surgeon.

(7) The following is the Financial Resolution No. 2,295 of April, 1867:—

“Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to lay down the following revised scale of consolidated salaries for uncovenanted medical officers, other than sub-assistant surgeons, when in medical charge of civil stations.” From this it is clear that sub-assistant surgeons are particularly debarred from receiving the advantages of this financial resolution: they cannot become uncovenanted medical officers.

(8) The following two sub-assistant surgeons hold medical charge of the stations opposite their names with their pay:—

	Rs.
Burjorjee Ardesir Savuntvaree	350
Abdool Rahim Hakim, Bassadore	200

These are the only two sub-assistant surgeons who hold charge of civil stations. There are now thirty-four sub-assistant surgeons on the Bombay Medical Establishment; not one of them receives more than Rs. 350 a-month; thirty-four sub-assistant surgeons receive pay as follows:—

	Monthly.
	Rs.
8 Sub-Assistants, each	350
9 „ „	300
12 „ „	200
5 „ „	100

#### RANK OR POSITION.

(9) The rank of sub-assistant surgeons is that of “*Native commissioned officers of the Army*,” whose designations and pay are as follows:—

	Monthly.
	Rs.
Subadar	100
Jemadar	35
Havildar	16

Sub-assistant surgeons must remain sub-assistant surgeons all their lifetime, with such low rank as Native commissioned officers, whose education is next to nothing. It is also understood that when in civil employ (which is not often the case) the sub-assistant surgeons hold

(6) When an honorary assistant surgeon, or an apothecary, or an assistant apothecary, is allowed to retain medical charge of a Native corps for upwards of five years, his salary is increased to Rs. 600 a-month.

(7) Honorary assistant surgeons and other members of the apothecary class, when employed in independent medical charge of civil stations, will receive pay according to the scale laid down in Financial Department's Notification No. 2,295, dated the 25th April, 1867—namely:—

	Rs.
Under five years' service in independent civil charge	350
From five to ten years	450
From ten to fifteen years	550
Above fifteen years	700

(8) The following apothecaries are in medical charge of the stations placed opposite to their names, with their pay:—

	Rs.
B. Burn, Nassick	700
A. Pollard, Dapolee	450
D. Munday, Vingorla	350
E. H. Cook, Shewan	350
J. Leahy, Sukkur	450
L. George, Gogo	480
J. Sinclair, Kolapore	450
J. Anderson, House-Surgeon to J. J. Hospital	450
W. Conway, Sada Political Agency	350
W. Waite, Khandeish Bheel Corps	450
T. MacGuire, Honorary Assistant Surgeon	450

And there are others also, but they are omitted here, as their salaries cannot be made out just now.

(9) Apothecaries generally are *narrant medical officers* (Rule 8 of 1st July, 1868)—five apothecaries now hold the rank of *honorary assistant surgeon*, or that of lieutenant; junior assistant apothecaries can reach the rank of sub-assistant surgeons by a college study of two years, and the same privilege is allowed to hospital assistants. This is being done within the last two years. Now, contrast the rules for the sub-assistant surgeons with those of the apothecary class, so very different and favourable in every respect for the favoured class.

the relative rank of mamlatdars, deputy collectors, and subordinate judges. Their relative ranks were mentioned in the first set of rules published some twenty-four years ago. They are omitted in the rules of "Sub-Assistant Surgeons and Charitable Dispensaries" published by Government under date March 25, 1861. Rule 8 says: "In official intercourse it is the wish of Government that sub-assistant surgeons should be treated with the same degree of respect which is paid to Native commissioned officers of the Army, &c." What this "&c." means I do not know.

These rules can be seen in the Supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette* of 1st July, 1868. They are too long for insertion here.

## PROMOTIONS.

## SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

(10) For the students who form the College classes proper.

For the graduates of the Grant Medical College there was first an entrance examination in the College, then the A Examination (medical) at the end of three years' college course, and a final examination at the end of five years' course. After the opening of the Bombay University, the Entrance Examination is the present Matriculation Examination. Then, at the end of the third year, there is the First L.M. Examination taken at the University, and at the end of the fifth year there is the Second L.M. Examination.

After this the student becomes a sub-assistant surgeon, and is admitted into the 3rd class. After seven years' service he is *again examined* in the College, and, if successful, is promoted to the 2nd class of sub-assistant surgeon. Then, at the end of fourteen years' service, he is *examined again*, and, if successful, is promoted to the 1st class of sub-assistant surgeon. After this there is no promotion till the sub-assistant surgeon is either pensioned or dies.

(11) Thus for the graduates or licentiates becoming sub-assistant surgeons, and for those who enter the service, there are four examinations—viz. :—

1st.—The First Entrance or the Matriculation Examination on entering the College.

2nd.—First L.M. Examination.

3rd.—Second L.M. Examination.

Then, after joining the Medical Service as sub-assistant surgeon—

## ASSISTANT APOTHECARIES AND APOTHECARIES.

(10) The only examinations which the members of the apothecary class are required to undergo are two—namely, one (of English knowledge) on the apprentices entering the Medical Service—that is, the same as mentioned in paragraph 1 under the head of "Education"; the second is the medical examination, which is taken at the end of the three years' college course, as mentioned in paragraph 3 and N.B. There are no more examinations than these two, although the apothecary may serve the State for full thirty years, and although he may rise from the rank of apprentice (Rs. 16 pay) to that of uncommissioned medical officer on Rs. 700 monthly.

(11) During thirty years' service there are only two examinations—one in English, the entrance examination; and the other the medical, at the end of three years' course—and the man may rise up to Rs. 700 per month. For further encouragement, Rule 46 of the Rules of 1868 provides for the further advancement of the junior members of the apothecary class, when well recommended, to rise to the position of sub-assistant surgeon, and allowed after five years'



4th.—First promotion examination at the end of seven years' service.

5th.—Second promotion examination at the end of fourteen years' service.

N. B.—The two last examinations are taken with a view to find out whether the sub-assistant surgeon has kept up to the advances made by the Medical Service.

(12) Sub-assistant surgeons are pensioned agreeably to the rules of the Uncovenanted Service generally. Widows of this service are refused any pension. This subject is brought forward to show how well the apothecaries are cared for.

What can be a better test of the comparative merits of these two classes of servants than the following? And how different is their treatment, in spite of all professions of equality of all British subjects, without reference to colour or creed!

#### GRADUATES AND L.M.S.

During the last sixteen years the following graduates of G.M. College and licentiates of medicine of the University of Bombay have passed the examination of assistant surgeon in England, without a single failure, and they are all now in the Medical Service. Many more would prove their competence but for the unfair disadvantage at which they are placed in having to go to England at much expense and inconvenience:—

G.G.M.C.I.—Rustomji Byramji, M.D. He passed in 1856; so he is now full surgeon. He is now serving at Jacobabad.

L.M. 2.—Atmaram S. Jayaker, assistant-surgeon, passed in 1867, acting civil surgeon at Muscat.

L.M. 3.—A. J. Howell, assistant surgeon, passed in 1869.

L.M. 4.—Ruttonlal Girdhurlal, M.D., an assistant surgeon, passed in 1872. He is now serving in the Bengal Presidency. Although he was a candidate from Bombay, he preferred to go to the Bengal Presidency.

Besides all these—

G.G.M.C., Dr. Muncherji Byramji Cohola, M.D., should be mentioned.

service to attend the Medical College for a period not exceeding two years, to qualify themselves for the grade of sub-assistant surgeon. Now, the rule does not state whether, after these two years' study, the person has to pass any such examination as the 2nd L.M. before he is appointed to the post. But I think it is merely a much simpler examination at the College, and not the University examination of 2nd L.M., or anything like it. N.B.—An assistant apothecary is promoted to the grade of full apothecary, and this again to that of senior apothecary, and the latter again to that of uncovenanted medical officer or honorary assistant surgeon, *without any examination whatever*.

(12) Special provisions are made for the apothecary class for retiring, invalid, and wound pensions, as from paras. 22 to 26 of General Order No. 550 of 1868. Para. 27 provides pensions to the *widows* of the apothecary class.

#### APOTHECARIES.

This class of subordinate medical servants are in existence fully for half a century at least. Their number has always been large, and they are now 105 in all.

*Not a single apothecary or assistant apothecary* has up to this day ventured to appear for the examination of an assistant surgeon.

It is true that five apothecaries now hold the *honorary* rank of assistant surgeon, but this honorary rank is only given to them in India by the Indian Government in consequence of that strange order of the Government of India No. 550 of 1868.

Before the publication of this order, the two most senior apothecaries used to be made honorary sub-assistant surgeons, beyond which grade they could not aspire. Now-a-days the same senior apothecaries laugh at the idea of being called sub-assistant surgeons, as Government could accord them the higher rank of honorary assistant surgeon. The attainment of this rank does not involve the idea of any examination whatever. All promotions take place in this class of servants by length of service only.

This gentleman is now in the Bombay Medical Service as an uncovenanted medical officer, and Superintendent of Vaccination, Northern Division. He had gone to England to pass for an assistant surgeon, but, unfortunately for him, he had gone there soon after the Indian Mutiny, when all Natives of India were prohibited admission into the Indian Medical Service, and therefore he had to return disappointed to Bombay without the examination. He, however, passed a successful examination in England for M.D.

Even an honorary assistant surgeonship is not accorded to the sub-assistant surgeon, no matter what his merits.

This comparison shows how Natives, far better educated, are put very much inferior in rank, position, and emoluments to Europeans very much inferior in acquirements. The class of Natives from which alone some have gone over and successfully passed the examination in England, is put below a class of Europeans from which not one has even ventured, as far as I can ascertain, to stand the ordeal of the same examination.

In the Telegraph and Forest service it is the same; Natives are virtually debarred by being required to go to England to enter the higher departments, as far as I am aware. So here we are, after forty years, as if the great enactment, of which great statesmen were proud, had never taken place, and all pledges, even such as that of our Most Gracious Majesty, were idle words.

Now I conclude my notes on the Poverty of India. As I told you before, these notes were written more than two to three years ago. It remains to be seen what modification should be made in these views by the light of the events of subsequent years. For the present, the inevitable conclusion is that there is a heavy and exhausting annual drain, both material and moral, from India, caused by the excessive employment of Europeans; and to remedy this unnatural and serious evil, such employment needs to be limited to some reasonable extent, so that India may be able to retain to itself some portion of the profits of its trade, and, by thus increasing its capital and prosperity, may be strengthened and confirmed in its loyalty and gratitude to the British nation. I hoped to be able to speak more definitely on this point; but though it is now nearly three years since Sir D. Wedderburn moved for a return of the number, salaries, allowances, &c., of all Europeans and Natives employed in all the departments of the State drawing a salary of above Rs. 100, it is not forthcoming yet.

I expected that such a return would enable us to consider more care-

fully the extent and remedy of the serious evil I am complaining of. I would have closed my paper here, but as I have seen what appears to be a confirmation of the remedy I ask for, of the necessity of clipping European service, from a most unexpected quarter, I desire to say a few more words. The quarter I mean is the *Bombay Gazette*, or Mr. Maclean. If I understand him rightly, we do not appear to be far from each other, excepting what difference may arise from his interpretation of his own words. In his paper of 23rd March last, in commenting upon the causes of "the debased rupee," he considers home remittances to have some effect in that direction, and he proposes the remedy. I give his own words. He says: "To decrease these (home remittances) by clipping establishments, or, rather, re-framing them on an economical basis, *by never employing other than Natives of this country*,"\* except where good policy and public convenience demand it, and, if possible, "by establishing some check on the extravagant follies of the Secretary of State, should be the task of the Indian Government." This is just what I ask now, and what I asked before the Select Committee. Not only would the Native services be economical in themselves, but, even if they were as highly paid as the European services were at present, the economical result to India would be pure gain, as all such payments would continue and remain as the wealth and capital of the country. The only thing to be ascertained is, what Mr. Maclean's ideas are as to the extent of the employment of Europeans that "good policy and public convenience may demand."

The demoralizing effect upon our rulers of this fundamental and serious evil shows itself in various ways, besides the most prominent one of the open non-performance of engagements, &c., which I have already pointed out. Take, for instance, the Revenue legislation for the Presidency of Bombay. This legislation, instead of maintaining the height of English justice, in which it commenced in the earlier Regulations of 1827, and in which English prestige took its foundation, gradually degenerated into a legalized Asiatic despotism, till the new Revenue Jurisdiction Bill crowned the edifice, and by which the collector, who was hitherto the "king," now becomes the emperor, and whose will generally will be the law of "the land."

The drain of India's wealth on the one hand, and the exigencies of the State expenditure increasing daily on the other, set all the ordinary laws of political economy and justice at naught, and lead the rulers to all sorts of ingenious and oppressive devices to make the two ends meet, and to descend more and more every day to the principles of Asiatic

\* The italics are mine.

despotism, so contrary to English grain and genius. Owing to this one unnatural policy of the British rule of ignoring India's interests, and making it the drudge for the benefit of England, the whole rule moves in a wrong, unnatural, and suicidal groove.

In so far as our rulers swerve from "the path of duty that is plain before them," so much do they depart from "the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honour."

Nature's laws cannot be trifled with, and so long as they are immutable, every violation of them carries with it its own Nemesis as sure as night follows day.

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# RULES.

## I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Article 1.* The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

## II.—MEMBERS.

*Article 2.* The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

*Article 3.* Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

*Article 4.* Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

*Article 5.* Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

*Article 6.* The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

*Article 7.* Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 17., or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 107., which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage) £1 5 0  
 Life Subscription ditto ditto 14 0 0  
 Annual Subscription (including Journal), in India..... 13 Rupees 8 Annas.  
 Life Subscription ditto ditto..... 150 „

## III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

*Article 8.* The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty-three Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

*Article 9.* A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

*Article 10.* The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

*Article 11.* The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

*Article 12.* The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the

## RULES—(continued).

month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

*Article 13.* The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

*Article 14.* At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

### FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

*Article 15.* The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

*Article 16.* The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

*Article 17.* The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

*Article 18.* General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

*Article 19.* A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

### LOCAL COMMITTEES.

*Article 20.* Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

### BYE-LAWS.

*Article 21.* The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

### ALTERATION OF RULES.

*Article 22.* No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

### JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Article 23.* The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.









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